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# SOCIAL FORCES

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SOCIAL STUDY AND INTERPRETATION

THE CHANGING CONSCIOUSNESS OF KIND BY THEODORE ARTHUR  
THE RACE PROBLEM IN GREECE AND CULTURE BY JAMES W. WOODARD  
THE CHANGING CONSCIOUSNESS IN ITALY BY ROBERT MICHELS  
CULTURE AND CONSCIOUSNESS BY L. L. BERNARD  
THE CHANGING CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE METHOD OF  
CULTURE BY PAUL W. WOODARD  
CULTURE AND CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE UNITED STATES BY DAVID A. PERLUS AND EDITH M. BAKER  
MAINTENANCE OF CULTURE AND FARM-REARED MEN BY CHARLES  
CULTURE AND CONSCIOUSNESS IN AN INDIAN SETTLEMENT BY  
CULTURE AND CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE COASTAL ISLAND BY LEE M.  
CULTURE AND CONSCIOUSNESS FROM PRESENT POLITICAL DEGRADATION  
CULTURE AND CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE UNITED STATES BY ALFRED  
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CULTURE AND CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE UNITED STATES BY ALVA W. TAYLOR, BERNHARD J.

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*A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation*

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# SOCIAL FORCES

OCTOBER, 1930

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONCEPT OF CONSCIOUSNESS OF KIND

THEODORE ABEL

IT IS more than thirty years since Professor Giddings published his *Principles of Sociology*. That book and its successors amplifying and supporting its positions have played a creative rôle in the development of the new science of society. It is a matter of common knowledge how the *Principles of Sociology* have contributed to the development of sociology. They have opened to sociology the carefully and pedantically guarded gates of the academic world and have helped in making it a recognized discipline; they have inspired sociological research and their scope and precision of thought have contributed to the clarification of pertinent controversial issues that sociology was and to some degree still is facing.

Like all potent and creative thoughts, Giddings' theories have not escaped the fate of controversy which follows the trail of all new and germinating ideas. The theory of the consciousness of kind around which Giddings' main treatise was built had to bear the brunt of criticism. Its validity has not yet fully established itself and the rôle of the concept in an empirical sociology has not been sufficiently realized. Peculiar misconstructions have been imposed upon this concept. To some of these reference was made in the preface to the third American edition of the *Principles*

of *Sociology*. Many more have followed since, notably the illogical argument of Small. Only recently, Leopold von Wiese<sup>1</sup> declared that he rejects consciousness of kind because it pertains to the nature of an instinct!

The history of the concept is not void of the ironical. In his *Gesellschaftslehre*<sup>2</sup> the Berlin professor of sociology, Alfred Vierkandt advances a definition of society in which he places a strong emphasis upon an inner bond of union that unites individuals and is the essential characteristic of society. In his phenomenological analysis of this "inner bond," Vierkandt shows that it is based upon like-mindedness (*Gleichheit der Bewusstseinsinhalte*) and awareness thereof, a community of will expressed in the fact of mutual recognition of rules of conduct, familiarity, and consciousness of belonging together. He further shows that this characteristic permeates all social relations. This is in essentials Giddings' thesis, but Vierkandt prides himself on the fact that his emphasis upon "innere Verbundenheit" as the psychological basis of social phenomena is something new, and, in fact, a "Galilean discovery" of his own! In a profound

<sup>1</sup> *Allgemeine Sociologie*, Munich, 1914, v. 1, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Stuttgart, 1923, p. 4 note, p. 261 et seq., p. 207.

paper, Dr. Gerda Walther<sup>3</sup> expounded the identical concept of "innere Verbundenheit" a year before Vierkandt published his treatise, but due reference was made to Giddings' concept of the consciousness of kind as expressing the same meaning.

Recently the concept of consciousness of kind appeared in American sociological literature under the disguise of a new term: social distance. The term itself originated with Simmel.<sup>4</sup> As defined by Bogardus and others, the term refers to degrees of intimacy and sympathy, fellow-feeling and understanding, increased coöperative action, etc., and thus presupposes consciousness of kind as an explanatory principle.<sup>5</sup> Social distance is merely the result of the fact that, as Giddings has pointed out, "our conduct towards those whom we feel to be most like ourselves is instinctively and rationally different from our conduct towards others whom we believe to be less like ourselves."<sup>6</sup> A survey of the measurements of social distance reveals that they are identical in nature with measurements of the degree of consciousness of kind.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> "Zur Ontologie der sozialen Gemeinschaften," *Jahrbuch für phänomenologische Forschung*, 1922, v. 5, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> *Soziologie*, 1908, p. 349. On p. 489 an important distinction is made between social and personal distance to which Giddings already has called attention in a different terminology. *Princ. of Soc.* p. xiv. The difference between the two types of distance is well explained by W. C. Poole, Jr., *Jour. Appl. Sociol.*, 1926, 11, p. 114-120.

<sup>5</sup> E. S. Bogardus, "Social Distance in the City." *Proceed. Amer. Sociol. Society*, 32, p. 40; also "Social Distance between Groups." *Jour. Appl. Sociol.*, 9, p. 473; W. C. Poole, op. cit., p. 114.

<sup>6</sup> *Principles of Sociol.*, p. 18; also p. ix "consciousness of kind is only another name for fellow-feeling."

<sup>7</sup> Bogardus, "Social Distance in the City," loc. cit. p. 43; Bienewies, "Method of Studying Rural Social Distance," *Jour. Appl. Sociol.*, 10 p. 239; R. Benini, "Principii di Demografia," quoted in Giddings *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, p. 120; Giddings, *Scientific Study of Human Society*, p. 122 et seq.

Thus, while the researches on social distance are noteworthy expansions of Giddings' pioneer work, the source of the original initiative is lost sight of under the protecting wing of the new term.

Of all the vicissitudes that the concept of consciousness of kind had to undergo, the most serious lie in the fact that undue emphasis has been put upon the concept as the fundamental contribution of Giddings' system of sociology, thus putting it into the class of "one idea sociologies."<sup>8</sup> This has tended to overshadow equally important elements of his theory. In particular, we may refer first to the elaboration of the fact that in the realm of human life there are phenomena that are distinctly social in nature as distinguished from economic, political, legal and religious phenomena which also occur in "society." The importance of this thesis for the delimitation of the true field of sociological endeavor is only now beginning to be adequately evaluated.

Secondly, we may name Professor Giddings' definition of sociology as a study of the elements and principles of social action, social relations and social groups. Recently, Znaniecki<sup>9</sup> in a novel interpretation has recalled the attention of the sociologist to the fundamental importance and the fruitful implications of this thought.

Finally, attention may be called to Giddings' emphasis upon the methodological principle of the coördination of the subjective and objective interpretation in the study of social phenomena. There have been frequent departures towards either extreme by the psychologist of human society and the culturalist respectively to the detriment of sociology, which a realization of the empirical basis of the principle could have prevented.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 31, p. 772, 769.

<sup>9</sup> *Introduction to Sociology*, Poznan, 1922 p. 315 ff.



Prevalent interpretations of the concept of consciousness of kind have tended to raise it upon a pedestal as a universal principle, a mysterious instigator of social life. Because of the socio-philosophical meaning of the concept as an explanatory principle of evolution, Dr. Giddings' work has been considered merely as a contribution to speculative social philosophy. Its importance to empirical sociology has thus been underestimated. It is the rôle of the concept in sociological analysis that has not received adequate recognition, although at present the advocates of social distance begin, inadvertently, to put refreshing accentuation upon it.

It will be the purpose of this article to attempt to show where and in what connections consciousness of kind is a factor and why it should be recognized in the analysis of concrete sociological phenomena. The essentials that are to be set forth, however, can be found in a striking statement in the *Principles of Sociology*; ". . . individual and social choices become important factors in social causation. Among scores of social relations and activities that are accidentally established, tried, or thought of, some appeal to consciousness as agreeable or desirable, while others arouse antagonism. The associated individuals select, endeavoring to strengthen and to perpetuate some relations, to make an end of others. In all this process association, social choice and social will are determined by the consciousness of kind."<sup>10</sup>

Nothing that is not implied by Giddings' theory, therefore, will be given, but it is believed that a restatement of the situation is fully in order if only to put the concept into its proper perspective.

#### THE SOCIAL PROCESS

The dynamics of social life at any given time are expressed in innumerable proc-

esses conceived as behavior sequences. From the sociological point of view, which is essentially relativistic, these processes are processes of interaction between individuals as members of groups, or interaction between groups. The behavior sequences arise in the course of actions for a variety of purposes, individual and collective, wherever these actions encounter the reactions of others or require their supplementary responses. Contacts, however, of which processes of interaction are the resultants are not synonymous with physical proximity nor is intercommunication their sole characteristic. They are intersecting points of lines of actions and their significance lies in the fact that the bearers of these actions, except in cases of avoidance, become objects of a new series of actions. That is, a new behavior sequence makes its appearance in which there is action of one individual or group upon the other in such a way, that the activities of A support to elicit a desired response from B, and in turn the response of B, a desired reaction, either continuation or change of the action—of A. In this manner a social process is generated that is essentially different in nature and structure from processes which grow out from purely economic, legal, technical, aesthetic and religious activities. Its main characteristic remains the fact of reciprocal action which brings it about that individuals or groups become objects of human actions which purport to call forth submission, elicit recognition, induce or deter action, condition responses, etc.

Social processes are ultimately phenomena of adjustment. Through selection and shifting of action-patterns more or less permanent behavior sequences are established. Interaction thus terminates in adjustment. Among the types of adjustment which consist in such fixations of definite and continuous behavior sequences, the most important are social rela-

<sup>10</sup> *Principles*, p. 20.

tions and social groups. Social relations are here called the form-patterns which are established between two or more individuals and are based either on consent or on tradition. Social groups are those form-patterns which possess an objective structure and an organized system of functions. From the preceding it is evident that these form-patterns are not independent realities but consist in the *chance* that a series of determinable action-patterns will be performed.<sup>11</sup> It is in the social process as manifested in social relations and groups that consciousness of kind is a constituent part in determining sequences of behavior.

#### CONSCIOUSNESS OF KIND IN SOCIAL RELATIONS

The contacts into which individuals enter in the course of their activities and which lead to some form of adjustment, are of three distinct types. Some contacts are ephemeral, quickly coming and passing in the daily routine of life. This is the case particularly with so-called secondary contacts in urban environments. Other contacts again are thrust upon the individual and become more or less permanent, but the permanency is not determined necessarily by any inclination that the individual may cherish but is fixed by social tradition or circumstance. Such are, for example, relations to the government, to members of traditional groups, to those who are in pursuit of similar interests. But there are also contacts with regard to which the individual exercises a selective function, where he chooses the persons with whom he wants to interact. He may select among those with whom he is forced to establish contacts and go beyond the traditional and circumstantial. Or he may drift into or set out deliberately

to enter into contacts that will terminate in desired relations.

On what basis does selection take place? Selection is a specific aspect of the general scheme of human action. This scheme implies that human actions are determined first by the particular tendencies, purposes and interests, of the acting individual or group, and secondly, by the reactions of those who are the objects of actions. Consideration of the reaction of others may refer to past experiences and thus imply anticipation of reaction, in short may be based upon pre-existing attitudes with regard to others, or it may refer to actual reactions whereby attitudes are formed in the course of interaction. Interests and expected or actual reactions of others, therefore, are at the basis of selection.

Consideration of the individual's interests and the reactions of others bring it about that in all cases of interaction and particularly in contacts based upon free choice, the acting individual *takes position* with regard to the individual or individuals that are the object of his activities. This taking of position we may call a *definition of the "other."* Definition of the "other" becomes thus the main constituent element of selection, since upon it mainly is based the decision as to the desirability or undesirability of contacts.

The individual will select as a question of policy those who, in some way, will contribute through the resources in their possession to the realization of his dominant tendency, purpose or interest. In this case the "other" is defined solely from the point of view of the positive contribution he is expected to make, i.e., defined as a means or instrument for the realization of an end. We may call this principle of selection *instrumental choice*.

This type of definition is, however, not the only one. In dealing with others a variety of actions and responses take place

<sup>11</sup> Explanation of form-patterns in terms of chance has been suggested by M. Weber in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*. 1922, p. 13.

which make it necessary for the individual to consider also aspects of the "other's" behavior that are not related to the realization of interests. The individual is subjected to situations that are due to the traits of personality which the "other" possesses, and that are conditioned by his participation in groups to the norms and rules of which he conforms, and have reference to his social status. In exercising his choice in establishing contacts, the individual will define the "other," therefore, also with regard to the psychological and social types which he represents. The three typical variants of discrimination which we distinguished, personality, group-membership, and social status, constitute a second principle of selection which may be termed *qualitative choice*.

It is in qualitative choice, and here only, that consciousness of kind plays a dominant rôle. To make this clear we ask the question: what particular traits of personality, what group-membership and social status does the individual take into consideration in performing qualitative choice? The answer to this question follows from a consideration of the type of relation in the establishment of which qualitative choice is most prevalently exercised.

While social relations have not yet been adequately analyzed and classified, a provisional distinction is proposed between two fundamentally different types of relations. These are, first, relations that are ends in themselves in which intercourse is the self-sufficing purpose, and secondly, relations that serve as means for the realization of individual purposes. The last type of relations embody the vast number of associations that are established for the mutual realization of common or of joined interests. Such are, for example: business relations, relations between lawyer and client, and so forth.

In these relations consideration of personality, group-membership, and social status typically do not enter. They are essentially rational-purposeive in their structure; i.e. selection of contacts is made from the point of view of the service they may render towards the realization of the dominant interest. It is, in other words, calculation which Max Weber<sup>12</sup> has shown underlies the "capitalistic spirit" that characterizes this type of relations. Dominated by instrumental choice these relations may be called *interest relations*.

The first type of relations, those that are ends in themselves, comprises the great number of contacts in which satisfaction of the *desire for response* is the main purpose. They are based upon intimacy, mutual attachment, and sympathy. Sentiment here takes the place of calculation. To this type belong such relations as are established, for example, in intercourse for sociability, in acquaintance, friendship, love, and between members of face to face groups.<sup>13</sup>

*Sentiment relations* are dominated by qualitative choice since satisfaction of the desire for response is dependent upon the quality of reactions of B with whom A associates, and upon the type of attitude A has with regard to B. In other words, the desire for response is axiological and, therefore, qualitative choice is a fundamental condition for the establishment of sentiment relations. But at the same time they presuppose the operation of consciousness of kind. In the establishment of sentiment relations it is fundamental that the action-patterns of B do not conflict

<sup>12</sup> *Religionssoziologie*, 1920, v. 1, p. 5.

<sup>13</sup> The fact is not overlooked that there is sometimes intermixture of aspects of both types of relation. There are cases where a relation is predominantly of one type but has an admixture of traits of the second, but for the purposes of our schematic analysis, it is necessary to distinguish relations only as pure types.



with the action-patterns of A, and that the attitudes involved be not resentful, disparaging or antagonistic. Otherwise conflict alone or at best opposition or tension would be the result.

Sentiment relations come into being only where the behavior-patterns of the individuals involved are harmonious and complementary, and when there is no basis for antagonistic reactions, as would be the case, for example, were a negative attitude with regard to the social status of B to prevail. There can be no emotional obstacles nor uncompromising differences in behavior-patterns. The conditions for the establishment of sentiment relations, therefore, are fulfilled only where there is likemindedness to ensure congenial behavior-patterns, and where antagonistic attitudes are not aroused by recognition of differences in social position as expressed in group-membership and social status.

Since the desire for response can be satisfied only through congeniality, in performing qualitative choice the individual will select the "other" whose traits of personality, group-membership, and social status are most akin to his own. In exercising qualitative choice the individual is conscious of kind. Qualitative choice, therefore, is essentially the definition of the "other" in terms of kind, and consequently sentiment relations may be said to be determined by consciousness of kind.

In this definition in terms of kind, the individual does not necessarily consider all three factors of qualitative choice. In fact emphasis is frequently put on one or two only and in different combinations, which explains why there are sentiment relations where there is awareness of difference in personality, and why in a religious sect individuals of different social status call each other brothers.

The question of the relative frequency in which the three factors appear, alone, or in

combinations, only future research can answer adequately. A tentative picture of the proportion, however, can be gained from an analysis that the writer undertook recently. The following facts have been determined with regard to a study of 80 cases of sentiment relations: (1) Social status is the most important factor. It is present in 91 per cent of all cases. But it rarely is the only determinant factor (13.6 per cent of all cases). (2) Group-membership occurs in 70 per cent and personality in 18 per cent of all cases. Their frequency as the sole determinant factor is negligible (two cases for each factor respectively). (3) Combination of factors is, therefore, much more prevalent (81.3 per cent) than the occurrence of one factor only. Of the three possible combinations in pairs, group-membership and social status are the most prevalent (35 per cent of all cases). Social status and personality come next with 12 per cent and group-membership and personality combine in only two cases. (4) The three factors occur together in 30 per cent of all cases.

Expressed in terms of distance it would appear that social distance is much more fundamental than personal distance. This can be accounted for by the fact that the individual is conditioned in his selection by the pressure of the group or groups to which he belongs, and which tend to regulate the contacts of its members along lines of kind according to social position, while personality is predominantly left out of consideration. Under certain circumstances the individual defies group-pressure and follows his personal inclinations. Thus arise well-known types of conflict situations which have been immortalized in the dramatic literature of all ages.

Our schematized analysis of social relations has shown that in taking position with regard to the person with whom an individual enters into contact, sentiment



relations are established only when kind is recognized. Consciousness of kind is thus a basic element in the structure of one of the two fundamental types of social relations.

For this reason the theoretical significance of the concept of consciousness of kind consists in the fact that it functions as a differentium specificum for two distinct types of social relations. As such, it is more adequate than Tönnies' principle of distinction. Tönnies<sup>14</sup> was the first to recognize the difference between what we have termed interest and sentiment relations, but he has attributed the last to a mysteriously conceived Wesenswille. But consciousness of kind, while it partakes to a considerable extent of the nature of emotion, as Professor Giddings has pointed out, is essentially a conditioned response and, therefore, scientifically more adequate than the concept of Wesenswille. The importance of the conditioning process in relation to consciousness of kind has been recognized by Willey and Willey.<sup>15</sup> It should be emphasized, however, that kind is not only partly determined by the process of conditioning as these writers asserted, but throughout, since consciousness of kind expresses itself by means of withdrawal and approach responses and these, beyond the mere reflex stage, are all conditioned by verbal stimuli of others or acquired through experience. All the criteria of kind, therefore, external-physical as well as psychological, are the result of conditioning.

Besides distinguishing two fundamental types of relations, consciousness of kind, because of the fact of differential qualitative choice on the basis of combinations of factors, accounts also for sub-classes of sentiment relations.

In the field of concrete analysis of social phenomena the presence or absence of consciousness of kind or the recognition of differences of kind has always to be considered, since any one of these directly affect processes of interaction. They bring about different social situations and elicit different sequences of behavior. A few illustrations will suffice.

1. Where group-membership is sharply differentiated, as between representatives of racial groups and the scope of contacts is limited in possibilities.

2. Different norms of conduct are applied according to whether consciousness of kind or recognition of differences of kind is present.

3. Interest relations deviate from the pattern of the rational-purposive if consciousness of kind enters as a factor.

4. Relations sanctioned by tradition, e.g. marriage, take on different aspects dependent upon the operation of consciousness of kind, particularly with reference to personality.

5. Behavior sequences in the same situations will differ according to the prevalence of a particular factor or combination of factors of qualitative choice.

6. Consciousness of kind in connection with differential evaluation of kind is a potent factor in leading towards actions which aim at securing entrance into groups possessing prestige, or ascendancy to a higher status. The desire for recognition which underlies these actions operates in a different way where consciousness of unlikeness is present than it does in sentiment relations, where it is only a function of the desire for response.

7. Finally, with reference to the kinetics of social relations, consciousness of kind not only is a factor at their inception but functions in their development, and is predominantly connected with their breakdown. Other elements of social relations, being correlated with consciousness of kind, change correspondingly with its variations particularly in cases of mutations of consciousness of kind into apprehension of differences and vice versa. The function of consciousness of kind, therefore, in processes within established relations cannot be ignored.

A consistent recognition of the nature and function of consciousness of kind in social relations should temper the optimism of those who work for social amelioration through an appeal to "universal brotherhood." Even if a satisfactory measure of progress may be found for those

<sup>14</sup> *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, 1922.

<sup>15</sup> N. B. Willey, and M. M. Willey, "The Conditioned Response and Consciousness of Kind." *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 30, p. 26.

who desire a realization of Comtes' ideal of "One Humanity" in a gradual diminution of social distance, based upon group-membership and social status and increased emphasis of the personal element, the factor of personality itself suggests a rather permanent basis for a differential consciousness of kind. Not to speak at all of the element of calculation that underlies interest relations and which will always remain, with fair assurance, a formidable obstacle to the establishment of an "Ideal Humanity."

#### CONSCIOUSNESS OF KIND IN GROUP-LIFE

To apprehend the rôle of consciousness of kind in group-life, it is necessary to distinguish between two fundamental types of groups. The distinction is between so-called open and closed groups.<sup>16</sup> Open groups are characterized by the fact that they accept as members anyone who wants to enter. Closed groups, on the other hand, discriminate among prospective candidates by setting forth certain conditions or requirements for eligibility. The limitations of members in closed groups, therefore, do not refer to quantity but to quality primarily. What the individual represents, what his social position and personal attributes are, is taken into consideration.

The exercise of qualitative choice on the part of an organized collectivity is not haphazard, and it is usually much more precise and determinate than is the case with qualitative choice in the establishment of social relations. The closed group possesses well defined criteria of selection. These criteria are, figuratively speaking, the guardian posts operation on the periphery of the group at the points where contacts are made with individuals outside of the group, warding off those who

would not fit into the group's scheme of functions, nor into the types of relations established among its members.

Criteria of selection are determined by the general pattern of the group. A group, defined as the organization and co-ordination of functions of many individuals, is made up of a series of elements. Among these elements the purpose, ideals, standards, and system of functions of the groups are of particular importance. These elements mutually determine each other, and their interrelation constitutes the group-pattern. The pattern identifies the group, and its maintenance is a cardinal condition for the preservation of the integrity of the group. Since selection is made with reference to this group-pattern, the criteria of selection represent the group-pattern in a distilled form,—are, so to speak, its index.

While, therefore, the pattern of the group expresses its identity, its kind, it is primarily in the criteria of selection in which the group shows awareness of its identity. In so far, therefore, as a group possesses criteria of selection, it is conscious of its kind. Consciousness of kind in group life in awareness on the part of the members of the group of that which they have in common, of the bond that united them, and of what differentiates them from other groups. But consciousness of kind does not operate alone through the criteria of selection. It pervades other important group activities.

There are, for example, the conditioning processes to which the novice is subjected after he has been admitted into the group, which is further evidence of the operation of consciousness of kind. Since the continuance of the group's identity depends upon the conformity of the individual member to the group's ideas and purposes, the processes of conditioning aim at bringing the individual's own consciousness of

<sup>16</sup> The terminology has been suggested by Max Weber, *op. cit.* p. 23.

kind in line with or towards identification with the kind that the group represents. Without a comprehension of the dynamic character of the consciousness of kind in groups, as a function of the tendency of self-preservation, such group phenomena as the distinction between participant and active member, initiation ceremonies, hierarchical organization of functions and positions cannot be adequately understood. They are all parts of the mechanism for the preservation of the identity of the group, the kind it considers itself to be and, therefore, presuppose consciousness of kind.

The sensitivity with which the group reacts to all actions of members that are directed against those elements of group-structure with which group-kind is most closely identified, is a further illustration of the active rôle consciousness of kind plays in group-life. The action-patterns with regard to the traitor, the apostate, the transgressor against principles which are the very core of the group's identity are more violent, more uncompromising and lead more frequently to crowd behavior (e.g., lynching), than the action-patterns in cases where control is exercised against deviations from prevailing rules affecting the everyday routine of conduct.

Consciousness of kind is not equally strong in groups possessing criteria of selection. It is stronger in secret societies than it is in loosely organized groups, it is stronger in religious sects than it is in the Catholic Church. Its strength and vitality may be said to be directly proportional to the degree to which the purposes and ideas of a group are opposed to the prevalent mores of the society of which it is a part.

Consciousness of kind differs in strength, however, not only between different types of groups but also within the same group. The fact of variation is particularly impor-

tant in connection with the phenomenon of group disorganization. The variation effective in this phenomenon is a gradual disintegration of consciousness of kind, in that more and more group-members cease to identify themselves with the kind that the group represents.

A recent study of an immigrant agricultural community<sup>17</sup> has shown that the breakdown of a strong and practically self-sufficing group was due to the fact that in opposition to those who maintained the old norms and traditions, a new grouping centering around new values and new ideas began to shape itself. Once started the movement gained in momentum; differences of opinion and of attitudes grew and led to clashes increasing in frequency; the social structure of the original group commenced to crumble; one institution after another ceased to function, means of control became ineffective, and the individual members established new contacts with outside groups with which henceforth they became identified. In other words, group disorganization was the direct result of a differentiation of the consciousness of kind that was once common to all group-members and had held the group together.

We have tried to show that consciousness of kind is an important factor in group life, underlying the criteria of selection, constituting the basis of group solidarity, influencing group activities and group processes. In all analysis of social groups, therefore, due recognition has to be given to the operation of consciousness of kind.

#### CONCLUSION

The evidence which we have attempted to set forth shows the concreteness of the

<sup>17</sup> Theodore Abel, "Sunderland, A Study of Changes in the Group Life of Poles in a New England Farming Community," in E. deS. Brunner's *Immigrant Farmers and their Children*, 1928, pp. 213 et seq.



phenomenon for which the concept of consciousness of kind stands. The significance of the concept, therefore, lies in the fact that it furnishes to the empirical sociologist, an important tool in the analysis of social phenomena. A workable set of categories is one of the fundamental requirements for adequate sociological research. The concept of consciousness of kind furnishes such a category and its value is enhanced by the fact that it is at the same time an explanatory principle. It has to be added to the eight categories "constituting a theory of human motives as 'social forces,' " which House has extracted from sociological literature.<sup>18</sup> He has not given adequate recognition to the fact of the definition of the "other" and, therefore, failed to see the true meaning of consciousness of kind.

<sup>18</sup> F. H. House, "The concept of social forces in American sociology." *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 31, p. 525.

Emphasis, however, has to be laid on the fact that consciousness of kind is not the all-embracing phenomenon with reference to which every process in society can be analyzed. We have shown that it is active predominantly in sentiment relations and closed groups,—that is, in a comparatively restricted field. But even there, it is only *one* of the active factors in determining social processes. It never operates *per se*, but is conditioned and influenced in its operation by other psychological and, predominantly, by cultural factors.<sup>19</sup> But once its true position is recognized its significance cannot be ignored. The discovery and elaboration of the concept of consciousness of kind, therefore, will remain a lasting contribution of Dr. Giddings.

<sup>19</sup> The importance of cultural factors as influencing consciousness of kind is set forth by W. F. Ogburn, "Social Change," p. 42 et seq.

## THE BIOLOGICAL VARIATE AND CULTURE

JAMES W. WOODARD

**T**HANKS to psychology and psychiatry, we no longer think of men as divided into widely separated groups, say the 'normal,' then a wide unfilled gap, and then the mentally defective, the first of equal normality, the second of equal defectiveness. Or again of the 'normal,' then a wide unfilled gap, and then the insane, the first equally sane, the second equally aberrant. Rather, there are gradations within normality, gradations within defectiveness and aberrance, and gradations in the borderline categories. And if we have a large enough group, cases pile up in unbroken series along a line from one extreme to the other and in such a way as to give us the familiar normal curve—few

at the great extremes, more as we approach the middle, most at the middle. Further, whatever the precise rôle of nature and nurture in this phenomenon, as further research may define it, it is generally maintained that a similar distribution occurs from hereditary factors alone. In the light of science, the once axiomatic statement that all men are born free and equal is wholly false, neither implication being substantiated. With this statement of the general fact of individual differences, let us proceed in a somewhat discursive fashion to consider some of the significances of the biological variate for human culture.

In the first place, it is apparent that most of the cultural advance occurs at the



hands of a relatively small number. Most anyone can learn to run a Ford, can tune in on a radio, can purchase a book. Not nearly so many can invent the contrivance, discover the principle, or organize and propound the material involved. The group of innovators, organizers, and executive managers is a small one in the current life of any group. And if we consider the extent to which the leaders in the various fields of human endeavor are dependent upon the accumulated body of knowledge and practice in their fields, we see that the number of those who have made important contributions, contributions of fundamental significance, is extremely small. The student successfully carrying on university work has been estimated by Witmer as in a class of 20 per cent superior to 80 per cent of the general population in competency. Yet he spends most of his life absorbing and digesting, learning materials and principles which some one more competent than himself has discovered and organized. The professor who teaches him differs from him too often only in that he has absorbed and digested for a longer time. Only occasionally has he made some slight addition here, some refinement there. The leaders whose leadership has lasted for generations and for centuries, those who have analyzed the orientation points themselves, those who have made the fundamental contributions which have revolutionized beliefs and techniques, these are those rare biological sports, the geniuses. So that it would be quite conservative to say that five per cent of the population do the thinking for the other 95 per cent. The feeble-minded do practically none of their own thinking; a larger group can be given a habit training which enables them to function satisfactorily in the particular group, but they contribute nothing; the large bulk of average members work out a slow accretion of trial and error improvements;

a smaller group of fairly superior individuals are the leaders of the moment, capable at least of absorbing a large share of the cultural heritage and teaching it in turn to the rising generation, capable of organizing the current flow of resource potentialities, human and material, along lines already laid down and of giving a somewhat swifter pace to slight refinements and trial and error accretions; while the very small group of geniuses have been the fundamental contributors, the real pace-makers of progress. Certainly it is true that the bulk of the population spend their lives learning techniques they did not devise, using devices they did not invent, mastering bodies of knowledge they did not search out and discover, and conforming themselves to institutions, customs, and standards in the formation of which they have had little or no active part.

This gives to the superior variate a highly important rôle in the development of culture. And the fact that there is a larger absolute number of superior variates in the larger population is one reason why civilization and population have always gone more or less hand in hand. So impressive is the rôle of the superior that it has given rise in the past to a lop-sided interpretation of civilizational advance, the great man theory of history. This interpretation looks upon the historical process as resulting from the influence of the great men stamping their imprint upon and swaying the successive periods. It is unilateral principally in that it tends to overlook the influence of the period in turn upon the great man who epitomizes some one or another of its tendencies. Thus there were several centuries of Messianic hope before they became epitomized, though in a manner stamped with his individual characteristics, by the carpenter of Nazareth. Thus there has been a long chafing at British domination and the

Western European culture before Ghandi. Similarly, there was a long antagonism on fundamentally economic grounds to which a geographic interpretation may be given before the conflict over slavery in this country led, after futile attempts by John Brown, Vesey, Garrison, and others, to the more *timely* leadership of Lincoln.

In the wider sweep of cultural change, the dependence of the leader and innovator upon his times (and upon what has gone before) is even more marked. Shakespeare could not have functioned as we know him without benefits, direct and indirect, from the schools and the leaders of his day, and much less so without the whole evolution of language from its conceivable primitive state of inarticulate cries and gestures through enlarging vocabularies and refined definiteness and shades of meaning, from rude ideographs through hieroglyphics, written alphabets, and the like, to the facile instrument for thought expression which awaited his masterful use of it. A linotype could not be invented without all the preceding advance in paper-making, in development of written language, block-printing, the use of fire, the perfection of metallurgy and chemistry, the discovery of the principles of the wheel, the lever, the screw, the pulley, etc. And these are age-long achievements. So that the genius, as he becomes known to us by his work, is in no sense self-sufficient. Rob him of the motivating influence of the times in which he lives and of the heritage of materials with which to work, and what seems to us a very simple thing, say the discovery of the wheel principle, becomes difficult enough to challenge his powers. Burr ("Genius," in *Medical Searchlight*, March 15, 1926) is free to grant the appellation to the first user of fire, to the innovator who produced the marvelously delicate harpoon adjustment of the Eskimo, or to the inventor of the bow and

feathered arrow (if we may assume these to be the work of only one person).

Further, in the very complex culture and in cases where groups of diverse culture have to work out an accommodation to each other, there result of necessity many new combinations of the old and the new, many necessities for re-analysis, interborrowings, adaptations, re-combinations and the like which explain much of cultural change. Thus, as one has pointed out, the invention of the locomotive focussed attention on satisfactory trackage until the steel rail resulted; the greater speed then possible focussed attention on safer brakes until the Westinghouse brake was devised; satisfactory couplers had to be found; signaling devices; etc., one innovation focusing the attention on the necessity for another until we have the tremendously intricate complex of culture traits which our modern railroads represent. Thus in the sciences, biology had gotten to the point where a next logical step was in order; and Spencer, Wallace, and Darwin hit upon the evolutionary theory, in slightly different forms, almost simultaneously. Ogburn (*Social Change*) gives a list of 148 significant scientific theories and inventions which have been made independently by two or more men and so nearly simultaneously that the question as to who were their first originators is still a matter of dispute.

The above facts—the motivating influence of his times upon the great man, the reliance of the innovator upon the already accumulated heritage with which to work, and the tendency for cultural change to demand further change—have led to another unilateral theory quite the opposite of the 'great man' theory, that of cultural determinism. The proponents of this theory hold that the great man is but the medium through which the developments of his times express themselves, that he is

more influenced by the group than he influences it, that in so far as he does influence the group it is the result only of the group's prior influence on him. He is thus an instrument of the group and meaningless in himself. Did not this particular leader occur, another would have been thrown up by the group.

Now all this may be admitted without detracting in the least from the importance to cultural advance of the genius and the superior as we have depicted it a few pages back. That is, no one would now posit the individual genius as an original cause. It still remains true that five per cent of the group do the real thinking for the whole group. Lacking the particular genius who was promoted to leadership, it may be true that the group influences would focus in some other. But—and here is the first stumbling block—suppose it didn't. For, since geniuses are rare birds, suppose there is no other genius at hand. The answer is that the changes would have to come about as the result of the slow trial and error accretions at the hands of the mediocre and the dull or as the result of the but slightly more rapid accretions from the merely bright, instead of in the bolder strokes of the genius.

The synthesis of the two opposed theories is then this: the group furnishes the superior variate with the cultural heritage, the material without which he could not work; the times in which he lives in one way or another condition the direction of his motivation and in a measure also its intensity; and current and preceding changes (or changes in the physical environment) direct his attention to specific problems and tasks. But it is because he is a superior variate that he attacks them more vigorously and sketches his answers in bold strokes which often have about them a compelling power in contrast to the stunted trial and error accretions which

generations of mediocrity finally grind out. So that, granted that group influences have had the major share in determining the *specific content* of his contributions, his influence upon the *rate of their achievement*, and doubtless also on their *pat-ness*, is enough to warrant looking upon him as a distinct factor.

But besides this it is true that as leader and innovator there accrues to him a prestige and a following which gives to the single personality a formative influence upon the group, an influence which is quite absent in the anonymity of the slower trial and error accretions of which the cultural determinists speak. It therefore does not follow that, in his absence and with some other superior 'deputized' as the group's instrument, things would go on in exactly the same manner. And here biological factors may give a qualitative tone to the results. For example, in temperament there may be all the difference between Buddha and Mohammed, between Ghandi and Mussolini; and with these differences go differences in the tone of the times, of the institutions and philosophies set up, and in the ensuing cultural development. And the question is raised by the occurrence of men like Bach and Chopin and some of the mathematical geniuses as to whether there may not be more specificity in other than temperamental aspects in biological inheritance than is usually supposed.

There have long been recognized the literary genius, the artistic genius, the musical genius, the religious mystic, etc., and there is no reason to prescribe the realms in which genius may find expression, though this is not the place to discuss the specificity of talent. People of outstanding talent along special lines have unquestionably occurred, though usually accompanied by a high general endowment. Among such are the mathematical



prodigies, musical geniuses, and the like. Recently we are inclined to broaden the category of genius to include inventive geniuses, military, personal leadership (statesmen or even criminals), and organizing and executive superiors. The importance of the contributions of each is apparent.

There have doubtless been many times and many problems which have awaited in vain the bold strokes of a leader of great competency. And contrariwise there have probably been many men of genius born into primitive groups (or held down in our own civilization by inequality of opportunity) who, lacking the materials with which to work or the motivation or direction of their attention upon a task commensurate with their ability, have died without ever yielding to society the contribution of which they were capable. But when the opportunity and the man have been happily combined, biological factors have afforded a considerable hastening of otherwise slow cultural processes, and the individuality of the superior innovator has not been entirely escaped as an influence. None can doubt, for instance, that the history of Greek culture and with it that of most subsequent culture would have been different in the absence of the sixth century efflorescence of genius. Athens, with less than 100,000 population, produced, from 530 B.C. to 430 B.C. full fourteen geniuses of the first water. One is bold to say that without the Greek geniuses of about this period, science and philosophy and most technology might be little more advanced in Europe today than it was a thousand years ago. For it was in the renaissance of Greek learning, carried on in the Aristotelian-Nestorian-Saracenic continuity, that science and philosophy revived in Europe after a thousand years of the deadening hand of Christian scholasticism and censorship.

What we have thus far said applies also to the gradation from 'sanity' to insanity. Genius and eccentricity have ever been thought to be closely allied. And while more accurate methods of study are teaching us that the superior variate is usually a more healthy general picture than is the mediocre or backward, the emotional complications of mildly morbid variates sometimes yield an intensity of motivation and a richness of emotional life which ranks them close to the true genius in the extent of their influence, and which, when combined with high mental ability, often yields contributions of unique worth, especially in literary, artistic, and mystico-religious fields. Thus the mild depressives and neurotics have expressed their doubting phobias and feelings of unreality in analyzing what to the ordinary man are fixed orientation points of thinking and belief; and philosophy would be much the poorer without them. Hypomanics, because of the intensity of their motivation, the grandiosity of their schemes, and the confidence which their self-confidence sometimes inspires in others, have played decidedly important rôles in political, military, religious, and industrial leadership. Paranoiacs and hysterics have played, and continue to play, a part out of proportion to their numbers in religion; and many of the shamans, oracles, mediums, prophets, messiahs, and saints would today be diagnosed as pathological in the clinic. Mild manic-depressives have increased the gamut, and enriched the wealth of expression, of the emotions in all artistic fields and, in their manic phases, have sometimes accomplished prodigious tasks. Paranoid and parietic rulers have more adventitiously affected the vicissitudes of empire and with it the vicissitudes of political, commercial, and cultural dominance. While at the other extreme all sorts of personality twists and all degrees



of feeble-mindedness are involved with more intelligent and normal elements in the problems of crime, prostitution, perversion, and rebel groupings.

To be sure, it may be said here, as of the superior in competency, that the specific picture which the aberrant presents is usually a group-conditioned affair. That the biological differentia are important, however, goes without saying. For almost all have had similar experiences, but in not nearly all has the aberrant syndrome developed. The exact rôle of physical factors and factors of experience is in controversy and furnishes a fundamental difference in the approach of two schools of psychiatry. But it suffices for our purpose to point out that biologically variant factors are involved and that significant social results follow.

Let us now turn our attention from the individual variate to the characteristics of the group as a whole. It is at once obvious that, under given conditions, a group whose general average of intelligence is higher will progress more rapidly. There will be more thought-out innovations; they will profit by experience more rapidly and increase the rapidity of fortuitous trial and error accretions; when a cross-fertilization of diverse cultures occurs, they will work out adaptations more readily and the adaptations and new combinations hit upon are apt to be better; and they can more readily grasp and follow the teachings of men of genius in their own and other groups. For intelligence is definable as plasticity, adaptability, the ability to solve new problems, the ability to combine familiar elements in new configurations which are at once novel, original, and pat. And, just as history shows us crises and problems which have suffered for lack of a leader competent to solve them, so it also shows us great men who lived 'before their time,' whose contribu-

tions were lost for lack of a following, for lack of a group who, if they could not themselves throw up this achievement, could at least grasp, appreciate, and transmit it. Indeed the history of genius is largely one of posthumous glory. In his lifetime, the genius has often as not suffered in poverty from the neglect of a generation who could not grasp and appreciate him; or he has faced ostracism, the cup of hemlock, the torturing rack, or, more latterly, political imprisonment. To be sure, the indifference of the group to the innovator is complicated by the opposition of vested interests—the Athenians whose leadership was imperiled by Socrates, the Israelitish priests whose tenure was threatened by the new teaching, the Roman Church which saw peril to itself in the independent thinking of science, and diverse modern groups who oppose innovations in religion, ethics, and the political and economic order. But over and above this, there is sometimes the lack of even a nucleus to grasp, appreciate, and transmit; and sometimes the contribution is utterly lost. Thus Ikhnaton, who flourished in the Eighteenth Dynasty at the beginning of the Egyptian Empire period, arrived at a lofty conception of monotheism fully thirteen or fourteen centuries B.C., a conception so in contrast to the current anthropomorphism that, although he was able to force a certain fleeting acceptance, it died out utterly at his death. Breasted has referred to Ikhnaton as the first man known to history who stood out distinctly above the culture of his time. The importance of the mental level of the group as a whole can thus not be questioned, both in its influence on the rate of chance advances and in its *influence upon the influence* of the really superior variate.

Perhaps even more important than the average level of the group is the variability of the group, that is, the extent to which

atypical members are produced. For the presence of the undesirable variants (idiots and imbeciles, e.g.) is more than offset by the superior variants whom we have seen to be in a very real sense the salt of the earth. Thus a group whose *average* competency is somewhat lower than a second group may still be in the more favorable position for progress if the *range* of its variability affords a nucleus for advance in the few geniuses and superiors; that is, if the second group, although having the higher average, has little variability, so that none of its members depart far either way from mediocrity.

This opens the way to a theory of culture differences as due to the innate ability of the groups concerned—the possible relation of race to culture. We shall not go into it further here. But we should bear in mind the upshot of most discussion of that subject—that thus far the racial factor is so entangled within itself and with other factors, environmental advantages and handicaps, isolation from or accessibility to the main current of cultural progress, and historical vicissitudes, that we can say absolutely nothing about it with certainty.

Another theory for which we have some current proof is the effect of changes in the level of group competency from time to time. Various studies have shown that the more competent groups in present day society (and especially the college graduates) do not have as many children as do groups of lesser competency and lower living standards (especially the unskilled laborers). Indeed, some studies show the college graduate not even to be maintaining his numbers from generation to generation while large families characterize the disorganized and the inadequate. And in modern society we have all sorts of charities to help the incompetent live and multiply. If one take, as a speculative

example, the lower 10 per cent in the army tests, inferior to 90 per cent, admit say 10,000,000 of them in the general population, and grant them four children brought to maturity by each married couple, which would be a conservatively small number; if he then take the upper 10 per cent, superior to 90 per cent, admit 10,000,000 in the general population, and grant them three children brought to maturity by each married pair, which would be a conservatively high number; then at the expiration of two centuries the proportion of quite inferior to quite superior is no longer ten to ten, but the inadequates outnumber the superiors 160 to 10! That is, in a competitive society, standard of living, the mark and pride of a high culture, seems to set up influences that tend to make civilization self-destructive. Just as, according to Gresham's law in economics, bad money drives out good, so a bad standard of living, and with it bad biological stock, tends to drive out good.

The eugenists have applied this to history and have sought in this element the explanation of the periodicity of civilizational advance and decline which has characterized the past. They have found evidences of differential birth rates in various ancient societies. To this factor has been added the influence of war as skimming off the cream and leaving the inadequates behind with the women, to become the fathers of the future generations. Although in any specific case this factor is entangled with all the multiplicity of factors we have seen to permeate all social problems, on *a priori* grounds alone a strong case can be made for it. The social scientist cannot avoid a deep antagonism to war; also to teachings (such as those of the Roman Church), and to legislative measures which would stand in the way of applying to the full such biological knowledge as we may acquire

as to how to obtain more of the superior variates and how to prevent the inferiors from ever being born. Given eugenical measures of birth control, our charities become ethical and humanitarian in the finest sense; without such measures, they remain but sentimentalized mechanisms for insuring civilizational retardation.

When one ponders the importance of the general level of competency and the importance of the superior variate to civilizational advance, he can readily understand why an increasing body of proponents has arisen for eugenics. The eugenists hope to gain sufficient biological knowledge (which is what is most needed) and sufficient appreciation of the importance of preventing that out-breeding of intelligence and its replacement by inferior stock which seems now to be in progress, to enable us ultimately to reverse the present process, that is, to replace poor human stock with superior strains, perhaps ultimately to raise the average of the whole group to the level of the highest member. One can scarcely visualize the force which cultural change would take on if every age were marked by the efflorescence of genius which characterized Greece of the Golden Age, if every town of 100,000 matched the first water geniuses of sixth century Athens, if every member of society were a Nietzsche, an Einstein, a Lincoln, a Beethoven, an Edison, and a Shakespeare rolled into one. So rosy is the picture of transformation which a successful eugenical program would bring about that we are apt to overlook the fact that what is most needed at the present is more biological knowledge. It is theoretically conceivable that the above could be accomplished; but much research and education of the public is needed before even a modest eugenical program can be put into effect. And even then we must not look for a panacea. Not all problems would be

solved by a thorough eugenical program. But one can say truthfully that neither will any major problem be completely solved without it.

This matter of the level of intelligence in the general group is of considerable significance for the future. For it bears on three catch-words which, perhaps validly, have come to have considerable sanctity in current appraisal, namely democracy, liberty and progress. One does not have to look far to see that democracy is still an experiment, still in the proving stage.

Witness the way in which its ends are defeated by indifference and ignorance, by graft, by propaganda, demagoguery, and by forceful and silken control manipulated by minority groups who have usurped power; by the way in which ignorance, propaganda, and crowd-mindedness made pawns of the populations in the recent war and set the most civilized countries at each other's throats; by the way the pocket-book sensitivity of the tax-payer blocks immediately expensive but distantly economical and constructive measures. Equally cogent with the question, 'Is the world safe for democracy?' is the reverse question, 'Is democracy yet safe for the world?'.

In terms of immediate benefit, much could be said for benevolent monarchy. The difficulty is that the benevolent monarchy does not stay benevolent. Without implying any moral censure, it is true that the only context in which one can judge a situation is the context of his own mental associations, which is shot through with his own experiences, his own likes and dislikes, interests, and desires. The result is that, in time, the controlling group inevitably come to decide actions and policies which affect the *whole group* in terms of *their own* interests. The sheer line of least resistance makes it unavoidable, and the procedure usually becomes so covered up



with rationalization and group pressures as to be even more of an effective tendency. Thus in history domination has always led to exploitation. History is as eloquent on this point as on probably any other. It is witnessed by the exploitation of women by the dominant male, especially in the Orient, by the oppression of submerged groups by ruling dynasties, castes, and classes all down through history, and by the instance of the Church, which at the time of its greatest worldly power lent itself to as great abuses as are found elsewhere, in spite of a body of ideals and a paternalistic tradition which would lead one to expect a different result in its case. It is because, over and above deliberate abuses, the line of least resistance tends to made the *exercise* of power verge steadily toward *abuse* of power, that we look upon democracy as the 'ultimate' form of social organization, that is, as nearly ultimate as any we can now apprehend. And this is true, not merely in the political sense but in broader fields, e.g., industrial democracy, which is the bone of present contention.

But democracy is doubtful of existence in the presence of ignorance, bias, crowd-mindedness, etc., all of which are dependent upon the group competency level in some degree. Equality of opportunity is meaningless if there remain any wide inequality of competency. Pro-rate the wealth of the land equally to all inhabitants and a decade hence, perhaps even a year hence, the greatest inequalities would be again apparent. Democracy, in its finest definition, is the right of participation in the control of any situation on the part of every individual who will be influenced by that control and in proportion to the extent to which he is affected. But the practicability of this depends upon the ability of the individual to so participate. And this depends upon the innate

competency and the background of training. Without these, the democratized populace will, in its gullibleness, become but pawns in the control of usurping sub-groups, will, in its ignorance and lack of ability to deal with complicated matters and distant considerations, ruin the group by unwise and short-sighted decisions, or, in its emotionality and crowd-mindedness, will sweep it to its destruction. Looking to the future of democracy, then, society is met with a two-fold obligation: first, the development of some sort of eugenical measures to prevent the births of inferiors and raise the level of the general group up to that of the highest members in point of competency; and second, the development of a educational and social system plastic enough and of enough justice, not only to permit, but to draw out, the highest development of the abilities possessed through the range of the whole population.

What we have said of democracy applies in a measure also to liberty. Let us turn from political liberty, then, to more subtle forms; intellectual liberty, ethical liberty, spiritual liberty. The justification for not permitting everyone to decide for themselves what they shall believe and teach, what they 'ought' and 'ought not' to do, and what values they shall hold as supreme and self-sufficient, is that not everyone can be trusted with such decisions. Hence society decides for them; and customs, traditions, codes, creeds, and institutions hold the average individual more firmly than he ever realizes from the possibility of independence in these matters. Indeed, the liberated individual who has arrived at decidedly different conclusions, even though succeeding generations may confirm his wisdom, often enough faces the cross or the scaffold for his sheer lack of conformity. Rightly, traditions, creeds, and the like should exert no effect upon thought and action; for the tradition or

creed may be wrong in spite of its venerable antiquity. Witness the long survival of the Mosaic cosmogeny, of the institution of slavery, of the divine right of kings, of the various religions (excepting for purposes of argument whichever one you may personally believe in), with their mass of superstition. Rather, each case (and every case is unique) should be decided on the basis of its individual characteristics (rather than by generalizations laid down by those of former times), and thought and action should be conformed only by reality (as shown in the particular situation, and as depicted in the light of reason). But this involves intelligence, the ability to analyze, discriminate, and take into consideration distant ramifications; and it involves an emotional stability and a personality integration such as will insure control of behavior in accordance with deliberative judgment. Very few indeed are those who, let loose in a world in which there were no arbitrary restrictions on thought and action, could function wisely in each independent situation as it arose, unguided by tradition and the herd voice, guided only by established fact and reason. Hence there is a justification for the existence and observance of the group morality even when the ethicist can see no intrinsic merit in any of its standards. And actually almost every group known to us, except perhaps a few highly selected scientific and philosophic circles, are so thoroughly bound in their thought and action that they are not even aware of it, but resent diversity as if it were intrinsically wrong or unnatural.

The resulting denial of liberty in its more subtle forms to the liberated individual competent to think for himself, competent to cut loose from the moorings of tradition and chart new seas, is sad to behold and grievous to experience. Yet

until all are of equal and very high competency, the *necessity* for binding rules is equally apparent. It can be shown by a simple illustration. For instance, in a certain city there is a law that autos may not go down a certain street more than eight miles per hour. Could every driver be trusted to use good judgment this would not be necessary. The driver might then go twenty or even fifty miles an hour at certain times of the day (or whenever he saw a clear stretch ahead such that this speed was safe). And he could be trusted to throttle down to four miles an hour or actually to stop if the thoroughfare were dangerously crowded or if there were children playing. But because *all* drivers cannot be trusted to be so alert and to use such good judgment a uniform rule is made that *no* driver may exceed eight miles per hour. Thus the competent driver is denied the freedom he is quite capable of exercising wisely, because of the necessity of giving a uniform rule to those who cannot decide separate cases on their own merits. Now the situation is exactly analogous in the more subtle fields of beliefs, moralities, and values. So that, not only is the general group not free, since it spends most of its life learning to follow prescriptions instead of diagnosing and acting for itself, but also the superior is not free, because to think for himself is to violate what comes to be inflexible, even sacred conformities. God himself could not be free among us as we are now. Yet every scientist will tell you that scientific advance depends upon complete freedom of thought and discourse, every ethicist will tell you that prescription-following morality is the antithesis of true ethics, and the more catholic religionists will agree that one's Supreme Value and his scale of values must be his very own to have compelling power. Democracy in the sense of social democracy rather than political

or industrial democracy and liberty in the subtler connotations of intellectual liberty, ethical liberty, spiritual liberty even, wait then and will continue to wait upon a high general level of competency and full development of the innate abilities.

But it is not only that liberty, however priceless that may be, is withheld. With the lack of freedom goes the loss of originality in thought and action, the loss to culture of original contributions, the maintenance of hide-bound traditional fallacies, goes, relatively at least, cultural stagnation. The superior variate, easily able wisely to cut loose from the moorings of tradition, custom, and creed, and to venture forth upon the open sea in new voyages of discovery and conquest, may not do so or pays the price of his non-conformity if he does. Thus 'progress,' another current fetich, suffers. We shall not attempt to say what constitutes progress. We shall leave it go as probably substantiable that intelligent people of emotional stability and integrated personalities are more apt to choose standards which will conduce to it than are feeble-minded and insane defectives. This, added to our earlier discussion of the rela-

tion of the level of group competency to the rate of innovation, the rate of diffusion, and the patness of adaptations and new combinations of cultural elements, is sufficient to show the dependence of progress upon group competency.

The meagreness of our biological knowledge on the matter of eugenics and the difficulties in the way of instituting eugenic programs and changing educational systems we have only suggested. It is sufficient for our purpose here to show that human culture is influenced by certain biological factors; the individual variate, superior, inferior, and aberrant; the general level of competency of the group as a whole; and the range of variation within the group. These impinge upon and work in functional interdependence with changes in the physical environment and the 'self-contained' culture process—innovation, accumulation, diffusion, recombination. The social implications are important enough to warrant society in looking to its biological heritage, to conserve and improve it by active measures. It is anomaly and paradox to put forth as 'moral' or 'religious' objections to so important a human venture.

## THE STATUS OF SOCIOLOGY IN ITALY

ROBERT MICHELS

TRANSLATED BY MILDRED HARTSOUGH

### I

CONSIDERED from the standpoint of official recognition, the treatment which sociology receives in Italy resembles that which it received in Germany before 1919. In France, England, North America, and French Switzerland, courses are offered in sociology; it

is an officially recognized science and teaching subject, and has its own instructing staff. In Italy, on the other hand, as in Germany until recently, it has no academic citizenship, and its representatives are either outside the university itself or occupy chairs in economics or legal philosophy. Efforts like those made by Achille Loria about seventeen years ago



to have the Italian Ministry of Education appoint a professor of sociology at the University of Rome have remained fruitless. So far as my knowledge extends, there is in Italy no course in sociology, with the possible exception of Padua, where, under the influence of Corrado Gini, the General Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce in Brescia, Filippo Carli was established about 1922 as part time instructor in sociology. If there are courses given in sociology in the universities, it is under another name. It was and still is common, however, to find such courses offered in the popular academies—*Universita Popolari*.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, without support from the universities, and without learned societies such as those in France which raise sociological problems and encourage sociologists with praise and rewards,<sup>2</sup> sociologists in Italy have been, like those in Germany, thrown back upon themselves, and have developed independently. Their work in consequence shows an entirely individual (which does not always mean personal) character. To be sure, most of the sociologists have developed from the ranks of the university professors.

While sociology as an applied science has thus had no official support in Italy, the state has been, on the other hand, by no means hostile to its researches and its scholars. Complete academic freedom which, as even the left-wing Socialists grant, has been maintained in Italian education since the establishment of the state,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my article "Das Volkshochschulwesen in Italien," in Leopold von Wiese: *Soziologie des Volkshochschulwesens*. Munich-Leipzig, 1921.

<sup>2</sup> René Maunier: "Bericht über die soziologische Literatur seit 1900 und die soziologischen Gesellschaften in Frankreich," in the *Monatsschrift für Soziologie*. Leipzig-Zürich. Vol. 1, 2, February 1909.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Arturo Labriola: "Una Democrazia Cesarea: Lo Stato Italiano," in the periodical *Pagina Libera* (Lugano), I, 1908, No. 7, p. 485.

has been absolutely essential to the development of this science, which from its nature is concerned with an analysis of social relations and thus necessarily leads often to conclusions unpalatable to the politically or economically dominant groups. Sociology is a plant which flourishes only in a mild climate. Canada had able sociologists at a time when Siberia still had none at all.

It may even be maintained, with reference to Italy, that sociology there no longer belongs to the younger sciences. Even the classical philosophers, critics, and political scientists of Italy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries went deeply into the problems of the historical and social development of man. An example can be found in Vico, the founder of cultural history as a branch of science and the father of the theory of 'corsi e ricorsi' in history, or the doctrine of historical periodicity. Other cases are those of Campanella, Machiavelli, Beccaria, Paganini, and Vincenzo Russo, the latter of whose discussions, modelled on those of the encyclopaedists, concerning the possibilities of human development and the fundamental concepts of social and political life, received a few years ago a well-deserved new edition.<sup>4</sup>

## II

With reference to the beginning of contemporary sociology in Italy, attention must be turned first to the followers of the French scholar Auguste Comte. Comte's doctrines made a profound impression on one of his most outstanding Italian contemporaries, the powerful, radical, not unprejudiced Giuseppe Ferrari. This strong influence can be noted in his *Philosophy of Revolution*,<sup>5</sup> as well as in his lec-

<sup>4</sup> Vincenzo Russo: *Pensieri politici*. Naples, 1913 (with a foreword by Macaggi).

<sup>5</sup> Giuseppe Ferrari: *Filosofia della Rivoluzione*. 2 vols. London, 1851.

tures—excellent in spite of their onesidedness—on the development of political science in Italy.<sup>6</sup>

The first scholar in Italy to write directly on sociology was Roberto Ardigo, the great positivistic philosopher, beginning about 1876. In 1879 appeared his treatise *Sociologia*. He is empirical, not metaphysical, and differs from Comte essentially in his fundamental emphasis on psychology,<sup>7</sup> concerning which he had written a book in 1870.<sup>8</sup> From this time on, a veritable flood of systematic, generally synthetic treatises on sociology begins to appear in Italy, all of which were more or less influenced by Ardigo, and few of which show a pronouncedly Comtean influence.<sup>9</sup>

From the point of view of present day emphasis, which is more on natural science, the Darwinists may be considered the first sociologists in Italy. They were, to be sure, for the most part guided by the strong *a priori* desire to reconcile the findings of natural science with the needs of the lower social classes and their ethical right to participation in the enjoyment of life. This attitude is exemplified in the well-known books (each reaching several editions) on socialism and social criminology by Napoleone Colajanni, later Professor of Statistics at the University of Naples. Colajanni emphasized first of all that the laws of natural science were essentially inapplicable to the social life of man, but maintained on the other hand that between Spencer and the evolutionary socialists lay at the most a difference in the

expectation, not of the direction of future development, but in the speed at which that development would proceed (1881).<sup>10</sup> Michaelangelo Vaccaro on a number of occasions advanced the thesis that the Darwinian law of survival of the fittest, a natural and useful principle, was reversed by the current conditions of ownership of property, since these conditions kept alive the weak, where they were rich, and, on the other hand, often artificially destroyed the strong, when they were poor. The natural survival was thus, to the injury of mankind, supplanted by an unnatural survival.<sup>11</sup>

In most countries, and especially in Germany, sociologists have as a rule (until recent years, when a marked tendency in the opposite direction set in) avoided allowing the results of their scientific labor to sail under the flag of sociology; and as a result the number of books whose sociological contents are announced on the title-page is still small. In Italy, on the other hand, for several decades past a very considerable number of social scientists and philosophers have frankly espoused the cause, and have borne testimony through the titles of some of their best-known books. Among the most important are to be named the widely-known professors Ardigo and Colajanni, as well as Achille Loria, who in 1901 wrote a sketch of sociology in which he differentiated three fundamental types of the new science: psychological sociology, biological sociology, and political sociology.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Napoleone Colajanni: *Il Socialismo*. 2nd ed. (1st ed. 1884), Palermo-Milan, 1898.

<sup>11</sup> Michelangelo Vaccaro: *La Lotta per l'Esistenza e i suoi Effetti nell'Umanità*, 3rd ed. Turin, 1902; G. Vadalà Papale: *Darwinismo Naturale e Darwinismo Sociale*, Turin, 1893; for another point of view see Pietro Siciliani: *Socialismo, Darwinismo e Sociologia moderna*, Boulogne, 1879.

<sup>12</sup> Achille Loria: *La Sociologia. Il suo compito—le sue scuole—i suoi recenti progressi*, pp. 192 ff. Verona-Padua, 1901.

<sup>6</sup> Giuseppe Ferrari: *Corso sugli Scrittori Politici Italiani e Stranieri*. Milan, 1862.

<sup>7</sup> J. Blumstein: *Die Weltanschauung Roberto Ardigos*. Leipzig, 1911, pp. 61 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Ardigo: *Psicologia come Scienze Positive*. Milan, 1870.

<sup>9</sup> Nicola Fornelli: *Il Pensiero di Augusto Comte*, Palermo, 1900; Eugenio Rignano, *La Sociologia ne Corso de Filosofia d'Augusto Comte*, Palermo, 1904; Andrea Cantalupi, *Politica in Italia*. Turin, 1880.

Others to be mentioned are the two unwearying apostles of sociology, the positivist Francesco Cosentini (whose thick volume *Sociologia*, 1912<sup>13</sup> represents the best that has been done on the positivistic side, under the influence of Ardigò, and who, ten years before, had written a volume, *Sociologia Genetica*,<sup>14</sup>) and Alessandro Gropali in his *Lezioni di Sociologia* (1902)<sup>15</sup> and *Elementi di Sociologia* (1905).<sup>16</sup> as well as the recognized psychologist Enrico Morselli,<sup>17</sup> the Sardinian Giovanni Pinnaferà,<sup>18</sup> the original philosopher Adolfo Asturaro<sup>19</sup> in Genoa, who so nearly approached historical materialism, the scholar Fausto Squillace, the physician Pasquale Rossi,<sup>20</sup> and recently, the quite different, somewhat autodidactical Amerigo Namia.<sup>21</sup> All of these sociologists (with the exception of Loria) were trained in philosophy and law, but little or not at all in history and political economy.

### III

A common characteristic of the earlier Italian science (which has resulted in the frequent but unjustifiable charge of eclecticism) is its tendency toward synthesis, toward the concept of the ultimate indivisibility of all science. This point of view is expressed most clearly in the work

of Gian Domenico Romagnosi (1791-1835) who conceived of political economy as the basis, indeed, of ethics and politics, but still viewed culture, not as being determined by the economic factor, but as being a "fenomeno compostissimo." In his works, which the geographer Arcangelo Ghisleri describes simply as *the* Italian sociology,<sup>22</sup> moves a spirit which Jakob Burckhardt saw personified in the Italians of the Renaissance.<sup>23</sup> Versatility, with at the same time a need for synthesizing, has long been a particular inheritance of Italian science. In this connection must be mentioned the learned work of the statesman Marco Minghetti (which appeared also in French) on the relations between law, political economy, and ethics (1859).<sup>24</sup>

The sociological emphasis was especially strong in the Italian political economy of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries. It is to be noted especially in the work of Antonio Genovesi, the first to hold a chair of political economy in Italy (Naples, 1754), and in that of Giammaria Ortes and Melchiorre Gioia. With a characteristically sociological point of view, the Milanese economist Giuseppe Pecchio raised in 1826 the question whether and in how far the development of the history of art and literature followed the economic laws of supply and demand.<sup>25</sup> The answer given by the author in this anticipation of the materialistic conception of history was not entirely satisfactory, for his conclusion,

<sup>13</sup> Francesco Cosentini: *Sociologia. Genesi ed evoluzione dei fenomeni sociali*. Turin, 1912.

<sup>14</sup> Francesco Cosentini: *La Sociologia genetica*. With Introduction by M. Kowalewsky. Sassari, 1903.

<sup>15</sup> Alessandro Gropali: *Lezioni di Sociologia*. Turin, 1902.

<sup>16</sup> Alessandro Gropali: *Elementi di Sociologia*. 2nd ed. Genoa, 1905.

<sup>17</sup> Enrico Morselli: *Elementi di Sociologia Generale*.

<sup>18</sup> Giovanni Pinnaferà: *Orientazioni Sociologiche della Sardegna*. Rome, 1898.

<sup>19</sup> A. Asturaro: *Il Materialismo storico e la Sociologia generale*. Genoa, 1904.

<sup>20</sup> Pasquale Rossi: *Psicologia collettiva*. Milan, 1900.

<sup>21</sup> Amerigo Namia: *Principii di Sociologia e Politica*. Rome, 1923.

<sup>22</sup> Arcangelo Ghisleri: "Sociologia Italiana," in the *Rivista d'Italia*. Vol. II, fasc. 4 (1919).

<sup>23</sup> Jakob Burckhardt: *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, p. 166. Leipzig, 1877, Seemann, vol. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Marco Minghetti: *Les rapports de l'économie politique avec la morale et le droit*, with an introduction by Hippolyte Passy. Paris, 1863.

<sup>25</sup> Giuseppe Pecchio: *Dissertazioni sino a qual punto le Produzioni scientifiche e letterarie seguano le Leggi economiche delle Produzioni in generale*. Turin, 1852.



that intellectual productivity corresponds qualitatively and quantitatively to economic and political demand, is not unqualifiedly true. It was, however, a very suggestive preliminary step in the solution of this profoundly important problem.

Concerning the attitude of Italian economists toward sociology in the narrower sense, it may be said that a few of the present-day economists, such as Loria and Pareto, have joined the ranks of sociology. Others, who make up the majority, still maintain an attitude of distrust. And all possible shades of opinion between these two extremes can be noted. There are economists as noted as Camillo Supino and Augusto Graziani, who are very friendly toward sociology, but who, in the delimitation of their field of work and in the direction which their studies take, retain a strong emphasis on economics. There are others who assume a critical attitude toward sociology, but who in their studies move very close to the boundary line of sociology. Among these may be mentioned particularly Giuseppe Prato who, in his researches into the field of the proletarian protective labor policy with reference to the importation of foreign labor, attacks the thesis of the unity of the "class-conscious proletariat."<sup>26</sup> Another scholar who has shown the same attitude is Francesco Coletti in his studies of emigration.<sup>27</sup> Concerning the type of the emigrant, some excellent work has been done from the purely literary side; Edmondo De Amicis, with his romantic descriptions of life on board an ocean steamer,<sup>28</sup> especially deserves the commen-

dation of sociologists. The successful type of emigrant to America has been described, to be sure more from the economic and biographical point of view, by Luigi Einaudi in his book of merchant princes.<sup>29</sup> The present author has attempted to abstract the psychology of the emigrant from his special economic, demographic and political situation.<sup>30</sup>

Salvatore Cognetti De Martiis, the former Ordinarius for Economics at the University of Turin, prematurely removed by death in 1901, is deserving of a special place on the economic side of Italian sociology. Although he belonged to the period preceding the conscious use of sociological methods, the work done in his brilliantly conducted seminar in political science (R. Laboratorio d'Economia Politica) belongs to the best sociological tradition. Among his numerous students, however, he aroused a love and respect attached more to him than to his methods.<sup>31</sup> Among his works which show serious emphasis on social science must be mentioned the history of socialistic doctrines in antiquity,<sup>32</sup> and more especially his fundamental work in the rôle of labor in the national economic system.<sup>33</sup> The same theme has been very successfully handled from a more juridical standpoint by Enrico Loncao of Palermo.<sup>34</sup> My own

<sup>29</sup> Luigi Einaudi: *Un Principe Mercante. Studi sull'Espansione Coloniale Italiana*. Turin, 1900.

<sup>30</sup> Roberto Michels. *L'Imperialismo Italiano*, Milan, 1915 (partly translated into German in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft*, Bd. xxxiv, Heft 1-2, 1912).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. the work of his student Luigi Einaudi: *Gli Ideali di un Economista*, pp. 11-20. Firenze, 1921.

<sup>32</sup> S. Cognetti De Martiis: *Socialismo antico Indagini*. Turin, 1889.

<sup>33</sup> S. Cognetti De Martiis, *La Mano d'Opera nel Sistema Economico*. (foreword to Vol. V. of *Biblioteca dell'Economista*. Turin, 1901.)

<sup>34</sup> Enrico Loncao: *La Locazione d'Opera nel Diritto Romano e nella Legislazione Statutaria*. Palermo, 1900.

<sup>26</sup> Giuseppe Prato: *Il Protezionismo Operaio e l'esclusione del Lavoro straniero*. Turin, 1910 (French ed. Paris, 1912).

<sup>27</sup> Francesco Coletti: *L'Emigrazione Italiana* (in vol. III, the anniversary publication of the Accademia dei Lincei, *Cinquant'anni di Storia Italiana*). Milan, 1911.

<sup>28</sup> Edmondo De Amicis, *Sull'Oceano*. Milan, 1897.

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book on economics and happiness might also be mentioned here.<sup>35</sup>

Among the sociological works of economists must be mentioned also the two volumes of Emanuele Sella on the nature of competition; they are original and bold in conception, though too often stilted and overcomplicated in execution.<sup>36</sup> One of the most important social phenomena, especially fitted by its nature, on both economic and psychological grounds, for sociological analysis, namely the advertisement, has further been treated by Carlo Cassola in a different, but not less valuable fashion than in the similar work by Madaja.<sup>37</sup> The sociological point of view has even been applied to the field of public finance, as is especially noticeable in the very able (but not fully appreciated) work of Amilcare Puviani of Perugia on the theory of illusion in public finance (1903).<sup>38</sup>

If we turn finally to statistics and population theory, the first names to be mentioned are the good old ones of Genovesi, Ortes and Gioia. An excellent survey of the historical development of the sociological branch of Italian statistics in the nineteenth century is to be found in a readable little book by Filippo Virgilii.<sup>39</sup> Corrado Gini, of the University of Padua, and following him Lanfranco Maroi and Filippo Carli in his book on the balance of nations,<sup>40</sup> seek in demographic conditions,

not so much the key to social phenomena (as Emile Durkheim and Costa attempted to do in France), but rather a light on knowledge in the realms of psychology, economics and politics. Gini, for instance, worked out a law of birth, according to which the reproduction of the different social classes was in inverse ratio to their social conditions.<sup>41</sup>

#### IV

Historical materialism has found in Italy numerous and important adherents. It would be a problem worthy of an historian's attention to show what numerous and significant forerunners of the Marxian conception of history Italy has produced. It would not, however, be a difficult problem; the writings of men like Genovesi, Pecchio, Romagnosi, Vincenzo Russo and Pisacane offer numerous examples of such a conception. During the lifetime of Marx and of Engels a great number of disciples appeared in Italy. The most outstanding of these was undoubtedly Antonio Labriola of the University of Rome, who has written stimulating and understanding comments on Marx in a number of widely read books.<sup>42</sup> But a more significant and original mind among the socialistically inclined—aside from a thorough and brilliant book by the philosopher Benedetto Croce<sup>43</sup>—is that of Achille Loria, who was, to be sure, denied by Engels, to whom his theories appeared in part as unoriginal, in part as dangerous.<sup>44</sup>

*brio delle Nazioni secondo la Demografia applicata.* Boulogne, 1919.

<sup>41</sup> Corrado Gini: *I Fattori Demografici dell' Evoluzione delle Nazioni.* Turin, 1912.

<sup>42</sup> For example, Antonio Labriola: *Zum Gedächtnis des kommunistischen Manifestes.* (Translated into German, with an introduction, by Franz Mehring.) Leipzig, 1909.

<sup>43</sup> Benedetto Croce: *Materialismo Storico ed Economia Marxistica.* 1st ed. (2nd ed. 1907), Palermo, 1900.

<sup>44</sup> Especially the following books: *Analisi della*

<sup>35</sup> Roberto Michels: *Economia e Felicità*, Milan, 1918. (partly translated into German in the *Jubiläumsschrift für Oppenheimer*, 1924.)

<sup>36</sup> Emanuele Sella, *La Concorrenza. Critica e Critica dei Sistemi.* 2 Vols. Turin, 1914-16.

<sup>37</sup> Carlo Cassola: *La Reclame dal punto di vista economico.* Turin, 1909 (cf. especially the concept of the advertisement, pp. 3-12, and the chapter on the development of advertising, pp. 111-23).

<sup>38</sup> Amilcare Puviani: *La Teoria dell' Illusione Finanziaria.* Palermo, 1903.

<sup>39</sup> Filippo Virgilii: *La Statistica nella odierna evoluzione Sociale.* Palermo, 1913.

<sup>40</sup> Lanfranco Maroi: *I Fattori Demografici del Contatto Europeo.* Rome, 1919; Filippo Carli: *L'Equili-*

Loria represents historical materialism in its most clear-cut form. He seeks and finds economic causality in every historical phenomenon, and sees in the economic factor the sovereign control of all events. Nevertheless, probably as the product of a land still predominantly agricultural, he differs from the other Marxian theorists in broader foundation of his thesis. For Loria the center of attention is turned, not on the dependence of man on the modern means of production, the machine, but on his dependence on the land. Loria is the father of the theory of free land, according to which the economic system is determined by the existence or non-existence of still unclaimed land. To him the high wage level in America was the result of the still remaining free land, from the settlement and the cultivation of which the worker could be kept only by high wages. In his later work, Loria was chiefly concerned with the problem of the development of wealth and the struggles of the various owning groups for power, a struggle in which the state figures as object rather than subject. Loria does not, however, deny that the machinery of state, even in the possession of a propertied group, may be used for the creation of social legislation. We have also to thank the same scholar for a large number of most original and penetrating essays on all sorts of sociological, eugenical, and ethical

*proprietà capitalistica*, 2 vols.; *Le leggi organiche della costituzione economica*; and *Le forme storiche della costituzione economica*. Turin, 1889. Also *Le basi economiche della costituzione sociale*. 3rd ed., Turin, 1902. Concerning Loria, see Enrico Leone: *Appunti critici sulla Economia Loriani*, Milan, 1900; Ugo Rabbeno, *Lorias Landed System of Social Economy* (reprinted from the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VII, no. 2), New York, 1892; Gino Arias, *La Sintesi Economica. Analisi dell'opera di Achille Loria*, (estratto dalla Rivista Italiana per le Scienze giuridiche, Vol. L. fasc. II-III). Turin, 1911; Benedetto Croce: *Le Teorie storiche del Prof. Loria*. Naples, 1897.

problems.<sup>45</sup> He remained true to historical materialism to the point of marked onesidedness. His book on the World War and its exclusively economic basis is, within this limitation (not by us considered as justifiable), the best that has appeared.<sup>46</sup>

## V

A sort of biological sociology is represented by the work of Gina Lombroso, (the daughter of the great anthropologist, and wife of the historian Guglielmo Ferrero) which takes a paradoxical but original form. She attempts to set forth and develop the thesis that the degeneration and especially the unsound milieu in which modern man spends his life has demonstrable advantages.<sup>47</sup> The real representative in Italy, however, of the theory of degeneration is the anthropologist Giuseppe Sergi<sup>48</sup> of Rome, whose long life has been very fruitful, especially in the field of the theory of heredity.<sup>49</sup>

Physiological sociology has in Italy a distinguished representative in the person of Angelo Mosso, whose ambitious researches concerning fear and exhaustion enjoy a European reputation and have been translated into several languages.<sup>50</sup> By his demonstration of the toxicological

<sup>45</sup> Achille Loria: *Verso la Giustizia Sociale* (Idee, Battaglie ed Apostoli). 2 Vols. Milan, several editions, 1904, 1908 and ff.

<sup>46</sup> Achille Loria: *Aspetti sociali ed economici della guerra mondiale*. Milan, 1921.

<sup>47</sup> Gina Lombroso-Ferrero: *I Vantaggi della Degenerazione*. Turin, 1904.

<sup>48</sup> Giuseppe Sergi: *Le Degenerazioni umane*. Milan, 1889.

<sup>49</sup> Giuseppe Sergi: *Problemi di Scienza contemporanea*. Palermo.

<sup>50</sup> Angelo Mosso: *La Paura*. Milan, 1886 (French: *La Peur, étude psychophysique*, Paris; German: *Die Furcht*, translated by W. Finger, Leipzig, 1889); *L'Espressione del dolore*, Milan, 1889; *La Fatica*, Milan, 1894 (French: *Alcan*; German: *Die Ermüdung*, translated by J. Glinzer, Leipzig, 1892).



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character of exhaustion, Mosso has especially stimulated labor legislation and labor protection.

To the sociology of the sexual life belong especially the works of the jurist Pio Viazzi, whose treatise on the "war of the sexes" rests on thorough studies. His thesis is that the sex problem drives men and women into an organic antagonism in all realms of human life.<sup>51</sup> The first Italian congress for investigation of the sexual problem, convoked by Giuseppe Prezzolini in the Biblioteca Filosofica in Florence in 1910 was also animated by the sociological spirit. Among others, Pio Foa, G. Salvemini, G. Casalini, Luigi Berta and the author took part in this congress.<sup>52</sup> In Rome, the periodical *Rassegna di Studi Sessuali* has appeared since 1921, ably edited by Dr. Aldo Mieli.

In the field of legal-historical sociology, the first book to be mentioned is the fundamental work of Giuseppe Mazzarella of Catania, which, under the misleading title *Social Types and the Law*, examines some of the basic problems of the older ethnological judicial systems and the comparative history of legal types. He formulates the thesis of the general demonstrability of mother-right.<sup>53</sup> The excellent Italian legal history of Arrigo Solmi is also not lacking in sociological emphasis.<sup>54</sup> Concerning the "ius condendum" there is a thought-provoking work (influenced by the Sorel theories) by Sergio Panunzio on judicial socialism.<sup>55</sup> Some of the works of

Cesare Vivante also deserve mention here,<sup>56</sup> as well as most of the work of the so-called positivistic school of penologists, arising out of a combination of Lombroso, Spencer and Karl Marx. It may again be divided into a radical wing led by Enrico Ferri,<sup>57</sup> and a conservative, under the leadership of Baron Raffael Garofalo.<sup>58</sup>

## VI

Among the social types which were subjected to sociological examination, we have already noted the emigrant, so important for the Italian economic system. Of the other types, the one most frequently described is the uprooted intellectual—*les déclassés* (lo spostato) (Arcoleo,<sup>59</sup> Sighele).<sup>60</sup> The corresponding proletarian type, the vagabond and wanderer, has been described with true scientific acumen by Guido Cavaglieri and Eugenio Florian.<sup>61</sup> The somewhat journalistically colored sketch by Mario Morasso of the ignorant propertyless class, which aroused considerable attention at the time (1900), also belongs in the same category with studies of the intellectual proletariat.<sup>62</sup> Italian sociological literature is poorer in studies of the great "productive" classes of bour-

<sup>50</sup> Cesare Vivante: *L'Influenza del Socialismo sul Diritto privato*. Milan, 1902.

<sup>51</sup> Enrico Ferri, *La Scuola criminale positiva*, Turin, 1885; *Discordie positiviste sul socialismo*, 2nd ed., Palermo, 1899. Cf. also Enrico Morselli: *Sociologia criminale e psicologia forense*, Turin.

<sup>52</sup> Raffaele Garofalo: *Criminology* (the English edition is the best.) Boston, 1913; cf. also the speech of Garofalo at the VII Congress (Berne, 1909) of the Institut International de Sociologie, in the *Annales de l'Institut*, Vol. XII: "La Solidarité Sociale dans le Temps et dans l'Espace." Paris, 1910.

<sup>53</sup> Giorgio Arcoleo: *Forme vecchie, idee nuove* (pp. 77-122). Bari, 1909.

<sup>54</sup> Scipio Sighele: *Intelligenza della Folla* (cf. pp. 106 ff.) Turin, 1903.

<sup>55</sup> Guido Cavaglieri ed Eugenio Florian: *I vagabondi*. 2 vols. *Studio sociologicogiuridico*. Turin, 1907.

<sup>56</sup> Mario Morasso: *Contro quelli che non hanno e non sanno*. Palermo, 1901.

<sup>51</sup> Pio Viazzi, *La Lotta di Sesso*. Milan-Palermo, 1900.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. "Resoconto del Convegno di Studio per la Questione-Sessuale," in the Florentine periodical *La Voce*, II, 49; also Roberto Michels: *I Limiti della Morale Sessuale*. Turin, 1912 (pp. 195-199).

<sup>53</sup> The best inclusive work is the French edition, Giuseppe Mazzarella: *Les Types Sociaux et le Droit*. Paris, 1908.

<sup>54</sup> Arrigo Solmi: *Elementi di Storia del Diritto Italiano*. Milan, 1908.

<sup>55</sup> Sergio Panunzio: *Il Socialismo Giuridico*. (Esposizione, critica.) Genoa, 1907.

geois and proletariat. There has been in Italy no Thierry, no Michelet, no Riehl, no Sombart, no Halbwachs, and no Fahlbeck. The writings of Pietro Ellero<sup>63</sup> and Pasquale Turiello,<sup>64</sup> to be sure, contain many able and suggestive preliminaries to a characterization of the bourgeoisie. Achille Loria in one powerful volume described the conflict between the various forms of rent, without, however, taking into account the human element of the rent-receiver.<sup>65</sup> There is, on the other hand, a good monograph by Loncao on the development of the bourgeoisie on the island of Sicily.<sup>66</sup>

In the field of the sociology of biological class stratifications, the work of Niceforo is most important. Alfredo Niceforo attempted to create a new branch of science, the anthropology of the propertyless classes of society. Building partly on the fine preliminary work especially of the English (Galton), as well as of the French and Belgians (Quetelet, Bertillon), and of the Italians themselves (especially Livi, the Montessori), Niceforo, on the basis of his own researches among the skulls of a cemetery in Sepino (southern Italy), as well as through skull and bodily measurements made on school-children from various sections of the city of Lausanne, reached the conclusion that the poor man (*l'uomo povero*) was a special anthropobiological species. As Marx had once, from the economic point of view, declared that between the poor and the rich, or, as he expressed it, between the proletariat and the capitalists, there could be no economic community of interest, so Niceforo

now advanced the thesis, less dangerous politically, but equally important scientifically, that there was no unity of type between the poor and the rich. He carried out this idea in a powerful volume, with full statistical documentation, which has been translated into German, in which he says: "The older criminological school, which was highly metaphysical, limited itself to examining the crime, without concerning itself with the criminal. The newer researches in this field, on the other hand, following the example set by the revolution in methods in the sciences of medicine and especially of psychiatry, have struck out on new lines. They are concerned primarily with the man who commits the act, and only then with the deed itself, and make use of all the auxiliaries offered them by the natural sciences and by nature. From the day on which these new methods began to be applied dates the beginning of the scientific study of the criminal, his intellectual qualities, his passions, his inner organism, the potentiality of his heredity, his constitution, his temperament and his environment (past and present). Thus developed criminal anthropology. The same path must be followed in the study of the organism of the lower classes in the population, if we are to solve the problem of the economic misery of these classes. In this way alone can concern with the questions of pauperism be lifted to the ranks of an actual and independent science, a natural science, that is, the anthropology of the proletariat."<sup>67</sup>

A few other lesser studies of the formation of political types deserve mention here. Arcoleo wrote on the revolution-

<sup>63</sup> Pietro Ellero: *La Tirannide Borghese*, pp. 212 ff., 313 ff. Boulogne, 1879.

<sup>64</sup> Pasquale Turiello: *Governo e Governati in Italia*. 2 vols., 2nd ed. Boulogne, 1889.

<sup>65</sup> Achille Loria: *La Sintesi Economica*. Turin, 1909.

<sup>66</sup> Enrico Loncao, *Considerazioni sulla genesi della borghesia in Sicilia*. Palermo, 1900.

<sup>67</sup> Alfredo Niceforo: *Anthropologie der nichtbesitzenden Klassen. Studien und Untersuchungen*. From the manuscript translated by Robert Michels and Adolf Koster. Leipzig-Amsterdam, 1910.

ary;<sup>68</sup> Pasquale Rossi prepared a few excellent studies, too little appreciated even in Italy on the persecuted, the martyrs, the mystics, sect- and folk-leaders;<sup>69</sup> the present author has attempted to analyze the academic socialists.<sup>70</sup>

Here belongs also the parliamentary type. To it the brilliant Count Petrucelli della Gattina in the early years of the new Italian state devoted an accurately aimed satirical study, which in its caustic character is often reminiscent of the best models, such as the caricatures of La Bruyère.<sup>71</sup> For later years must be added especially the studies of Ciccotti on Montecitorio.<sup>72</sup> Scipio Sighele deals with the basic problem of mass psychology in its parliamentary form (the psychology of groups of deputies) in his famous little article against parliamentarism, in which he attempts to show that the psychology of the delegates as a group differs from that of each of its members just as much as in the case of any other group (crowd suggestibility, disappearance of the feeling of responsibility, etc.).<sup>73</sup>

In a country so skilled in oratory and at the same time politically so productively liberal as Italy, the study of the orator-type and the sociological bases of its development would naturally arouse special interest. Good work in this field has been done by Giuseppe Prezzolini in his

discussion of the art of persuasion,<sup>74</sup> and by the jurist and economist Angelo Majorana in his study of the art of public speaking.<sup>75</sup> The most far-reaching work on the orator, however, has come from the pen of a professional physiologist, Mariana Patrizi.<sup>76</sup>

A type closely resembling that of the orator, the literary type, began to occupy the philosophers at a very early period. In the eighteenth century, the sharp-tongued Giuseppe Baretti set up a classical monument to this type, especially in Scannabue, with its literary scourging (1773-75).<sup>77</sup> At the beginning of the nineteenth century another Piedmontian, Giuseppe Manno, analyzed this type deeply, to the point of caricature (1828).<sup>78</sup> To a certain extent also, in spite of its primarily polemical content directed against Victor Cousin, the book of the philosopher Giuseppe Ferrari (1849) on salaried philosophers, which aroused such attention among his contemporaries, must be counted as belonging to this same category.<sup>79</sup>

## VII

The field of crowd psychology has proved one of the most fruitful in Italian sociology. Lombroso's school must here be admitted to have achieved valuable results, strongly as one may disapprove their unsocial, and thus unsociological method of approach. The researches of

<sup>68</sup> Arcoleo: *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>69</sup> Pasquale Rossi: *I Suggestionari e la Folla*, Turin, 1902; Pasquale Rossi: *I Perseguitati (Saggio di Psicologia sulle Persecuzioni)*, Cosenza, 1894; Pasquale Rossi: *Mistici e Settari (Studi di Psico-patologia collettiva)*, Milan, 1900.

<sup>70</sup> Roberto Michels: *Proletariato e Borghesia nel Movimento Socialista Italiano*, Turin, 1907.

<sup>71</sup> Petrucelli della Gattina: *I Moribondi di Palazzo Carignano*. Reprint, Milan, 1917.

<sup>72</sup> Ettore Ciccotti: *Montecitorio. Notevole di uno che c'è stato*. Rome, 1908.

<sup>73</sup> Scipio Sighele: *Contro il parlamentarismo. Saggio di psicologia collettiva*. Milan, 1895.

<sup>74</sup> Giuseppe Prezzolini: *L'Arte di persuadere*. Firenze, 1907.

<sup>75</sup> Angelo Majorana: *L'Arte di parlare in pubblico*. Milan, 1909.

<sup>76</sup> Mariano L. Patrizi: *L'Oratore. Saggio Esperimentale*. Milan, 1912.

<sup>77</sup> Giuseppe Baretti: *La Frusta Letteraria*. Various editions.

<sup>78</sup> Giuseppe Manno: *De' Vizi de' Letterati*. 2nd ed. Milan, 1830.

<sup>79</sup> Giuseppe Ferrari: *Les Philosophes Salarisés*. Paris, 1849.



Scipio Sighele in the realm of mass-volitions, mass crime, and mass intelligence have brought much valuable material to light.<sup>80</sup> The same must be said of Romolo Bianchi,<sup>81</sup> Pasquale Rossi,<sup>82</sup> and a very numerous group, within which the criminologists are especially represented.<sup>83</sup> This line of investigation has also been successfully followed in the form of fiction.<sup>84</sup>

The Italians early showed an interest in that central aspect of crowd psychology, the tendency toward imitation; earlier, indeed, than the French, though they nowhere achieved such completely organized results as the French in the work of Tarde on the laws of imitation. Especially worthy of commendation is the work of the political economist and philosopher, Melchiorre Gioia, a contemporary of Napoleon, who at various points in his numerous works attacks these problems in a not unoriginal fashion, and especially suggested the principle of direct correlation between intensity of imitation and the number of individuals in the crowd.<sup>85</sup>

Other problems, closely connected with those of crowd psychology, were also studied, that of public opinion, for instance, by Livio Minguzzi.<sup>86</sup> Even before him (and preceding Tarde), the Milan patriot and philosopher Carlo Cattaneo,

in his "Philosophy of United Spirits," had showed with care the connection between ideology of the individual and that of the group (1859).<sup>87</sup> Several decades earlier even than Cattaneo, the legal philosopher and political economist Gian-Domenico Romagnosi had made searching observations on the development and influence of public opinion as a spontaneous accompaniment of civilization, in several sections of his famous work on the foundations of cultural history.<sup>88</sup> At about the same time, Giuseppe Pecchio made some remarkable comments, from his own experience, on the practical functioning of public opinion in English elections.<sup>89</sup> Later, Scipio Sighele and others worked with notable success on the theory of the *Communis Opinio*,<sup>90</sup> among them Sergi from the point of view of the psychosis.<sup>91</sup>

In the field of the sociology of folklore and its related branches, Italian science has remained somewhat behind that of other nations, in spite of the fact that in Italy, this is an especially rich field to work. A little study of Pasquale Rossi on Calabrie<sup>92</sup> is worthy of mention; as is the attempt of the historian Guglielmo Ferrero in his rather bloodless work on symbolism.<sup>93</sup> The Orientalist Angelo De Gubernatis has in one book gone into the Italian customs connected with birth;<sup>94</sup> and a few chapters of the social scientist Luigi Ellero deal

<sup>80</sup> Cf., in addition to the works of Sighele here cited, his great book: *I Delitti della Folla studiati, secondo la Psicologia, il Diritto e la Giurisprudenza*. Turin, 1910.

<sup>81</sup> Romolo Bianchi: *Problemi di Psicologia Sociale, in der Rivista di Filosofia e Scienze affini*. III (1901).

<sup>82</sup> Pasquale Rossi: *Psicologia Collettiva. Studi e ricerche*. Milan, 1900.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. the rather hasty sketch of C. E. Aroldi: *Sociologia Criminale*. Milan, 1903.

<sup>84</sup> G. B. Bianchi (Pietro Petrazzani), *Primo Maggio*. Milan, 1901.

<sup>85</sup> M. Gioia: *Elementi di Filosofia*, Naples, 1833, pp. 57ff.; and more especially *Del merito e delle ricompense*, Philadelphia, 1819, vol. II, pp. 96 ff.

<sup>86</sup> Livio Minguzzi: *La Teoria della Opinione Pubblica nello Stato Costituzionale. Saggio*. Turin-Rome, 1893.

<sup>87</sup> Carlo Cattaneo: *Psicologia della menti associate* (Opere, vol. VI, Firenze, 1892).

<sup>88</sup> G. D. Romagnosi: *Dell' Indole e dei Fattori dell' Incivilimento*. 3rd ed., pp. 41-55, Prato, 1835.

<sup>89</sup> Giuseppe Pecchio: *Un' Elezione di Membri del Parlamento in Inghilterra*. Lugano, 1826.

<sup>90</sup> Sighele: *Intelligenze della Folla*.

<sup>91</sup> G. Sergé: *Psicose epidemica*.

<sup>92</sup> Pasquale Rossi: *La "Rumanze" e il Folklore in Calabria*. Naples, 1909.

<sup>93</sup> Guglielmo Ferrero: *I Simboli in rapporto alla Storia e Filosofia del Diritto alla Psicologia e alla Sociologia*. Turin, 1893.

<sup>94</sup> Angelo De Gubernatis: *Storia comparata degli Usi Natalizi in Italia e presso gli altri popoli Indo-Europei*. Milan, 1878.

with the nature of superstition in Friaul.<sup>95</sup> There is one good book on criminal jargon and argot in general, in the French language, to be sure, written by Alfredo Niceforo, for years in Paris.<sup>96</sup> There is also a rather unsatisfactory investigation of fashion by Fausto Squillace.<sup>97</sup>

The *Archivio per lo Studio delle Tradizioni Popolari*, founded in Palermo in 1881, and the great work of G. Pitri for Sicily have both been valuable in this field of study. Recently the World War has led to some investigations of the rise of military songs.<sup>98</sup> Since the Fascist government, and especially its Minister of Education, the philosopher Giovanni Gentile, is deeply interested in increasing and deepening the knowledge of folklore in the life of the Italian people, and in the course of educational reform has rendered obligatory the study of folklore, it is to be hoped that new emphasis will be laid on these lines of study.<sup>99</sup>

An additional group of sociologically minded scholars concerned themselves with parliamentarianism as a system. Among them was Mario Minghetti, who called attention to the tendency on the part of each party, as it came into power, to carry its principles, and, what is worse, its clique-ism into the administration of law and the government.<sup>100</sup> Another conservative statesman, Baron Annibale Marazio, emphasized similar tendencies twenty

years later.<sup>101</sup> Angelo Majorana also concerned himself with this thesis.<sup>102</sup>

As falling in the same general group are to be named a few other excellent books, which number among the best that have been written in this field: two general volumes on contemporary history from the pen of Vilfredo Pareto<sup>103</sup> a volume by Mario Missiroli,<sup>104</sup> and one by Filippo Burzio,<sup>105</sup> all attacking this same vital problem from different points of view.

This just-named group agrees in many respects, especially in its unremitting attack on mass concepts and on the democratic idea, with the members of the large and fruitful school established in Italy by the intellectual fount of French syndicalism, Georges Sorel.<sup>106</sup> Among these, the palm goes to two professors of political economy, Arturo Labriola (after 1919 Minister of Labor) and Enrico Leone, both of Naples. In their fundamental works, as well as in their polemical discussions, directed against reformism and opportunism, is to be found much that is original and interesting.<sup>107</sup> They are by no means

<sup>101</sup> Annibale Marazio: *Del Governo Parlamentare Italiano*. Turin, 1904.

<sup>102</sup> Angelo Majorana: *Del Parlamentarismo, Mili, Cause, Rimedi*. Rome, 1885.

<sup>103</sup> Vilfredo Pareto: *Fatti e Teorie*, Firenze, 1920; *Trasformazione della Democrazia*, Milan, 1921.

<sup>104</sup> Mario Missiroli: *Satrapia*. Boulogne, 1914.

<sup>105</sup> Filippo Burzio: *Politica Demiurgica*. Bari, 1923.

<sup>106</sup> Georges Sorel: *Le Confessioni*. (Come divenni socialista.) Rome, 1910. For a time, Sorel had even more followers in Italy than at home. A few of his works as for instance his famous *Reflexions sur la Violence*, appeared earlier in Italy (Palermo, 1904) than France. See the good Italian bibliography by Agostino Lanzillo: *Giorgio Sorel, con una Lettera autobiografica*. Rome, 1910.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. especially the works of Arturo Labriola: *Riforme e Rivoluzione Sociale*. (La Crisi pratica del Partito Socialista.) Milan, 1904; *Contro Giorgio Plekanoff e per il Sindacalismo*, Pescara, 1909; *Il Socialismo contemporaneo. Lineamenti storici*. Con appendice: *La Dittatura del Partito e Problema economico del Socialismo*, Naples, 1922. See also the works of Enrico Leone:

<sup>95</sup> Pitre Ellero: *Scritti Minori*, pp. 5-51. Boulogne, 1875.

<sup>96</sup> Alfredo Niceforo: *La Génie de l'Argot. Essai sur les Langages spéciaux, les Argots et les Parlers magiques*. Paris, 1912.

<sup>97</sup> Fausto Squillace: *La Moda*. Milan-Palermo, 1912.

<sup>98</sup> Mario Griffini: *I Canti del Fante*. Rome, 1922.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. the *Ordinanza Ministeriale dell' 11 nov. 1923* (Gazzetta Ufficiale del 24 ottobre 1923, n. 250); see especially II, i and XI, A, B.

<sup>100</sup> Marco Minghetti: *I Partiti Politici e la Ingerenza loro nella Giustizia e sull' Amministrazione*. Boulogne, 1881.

positivists, but Neomarxists with a slight mythical intermixture (Sciopero generale). This school is dealt with in a competent fashion, from the standpoint of friendly neutrality, in the works of Giuseppe Prezzolini on the syndicalist theory.<sup>108</sup>

### VIII

The investigations of Italian sociologists into mass psychology have only rarely gone over into the field of organized crowds. For the most part, they stop at the investigation of the character of the amorphous crowd. Concerning the nature of parties as such, we have only one general and objective, although rather schematic study from the pen of Celso Ferrari.<sup>109</sup> This lack is to be explained chiefly on the basis of political conditions in Italy. The party movement here was until recent times very little developed. The regularly entered members constituted in all parties a very small minority. Party meetings have been held recently only by the Socialists and the Republicans, more recently also by the Catholics and the Fascists. The Right, the so-called "liberal party," is quite formless. The nomination of candidates at elections is based on the criterion not so much of political expediency, as on the accident or the favor of independent small cliques. Often two or three candidates of the same party oppose one another in the same district. Under such conditions, the sociology of the party movement in Italy naturally receives scant attention.

Italy is, to be sure, fairly rich in party histories in the objective sense. Espe-

cially brilliant, because at the same time historically and sociologically sound, is the work of Gaetano Salvemini on the nature and development of the great Milan parties in the period of foreign domination.<sup>110</sup> Concerning patriotic parties, there is a work by Raffaele Ciasca, from the documentary point of view especially informative.<sup>111</sup> Concerning parties of the present, the product is scantier, and, sociologically speaking, less satisfactory. Deserving of mention, especially as a collection of materials, is the book of Ernesto Vercesi on the Catholic party,<sup>112</sup> that of Ghisleri on the Republican party,<sup>113</sup> and for the Socialist party, the critical work of Angelo Bertolini,<sup>114</sup> and the semi-official book by Alfredo Angiolini.<sup>115</sup> For the historical development of the Socialist party the best book is a recent one by Salvemini.<sup>116</sup> The author himself has, in the introduction to the translation of Ferri's *Revolutionäre Methode*, furnished an historical sketch of the history of socialism in Italy,<sup>117</sup> has attempted a more penetrating story of the class conflict as it works itself out in the Italian socialist movement,<sup>118</sup> and is at present about to publish

<sup>110</sup> Rerum Scriptor (Gaetano Salvemini); *I Partiti politici Milanesi nel secolo XIX°*. Milan, 1899.

<sup>111</sup> Raffaele Ciasca: *L'origine del "Programma per l'opinione nazionale italiana" 1847/48*. Milan-Rome-Naples, 1916.

<sup>112</sup> Ernesto Vercesi: *Il movimento cattolico in Italia*. (1870 to 1912.) Firenze, 1923.

<sup>113</sup> Arcangelo Ghisleri: *Il Parlamentarismo e i Repubblicani*. Rome, 1912.

<sup>114</sup> Angelo Bertolini: *Cenno sul socialismo in Italia*. Preface to the Italian edition of John Rae: *Contemporary Socialism*. 2nd ed., Firenze, 1895.

<sup>115</sup> Alfredo Angiolini: *Cinquant'anni di Socialismo in Italia*. Firenze, 1903. (3rd but inferior edition published after the death of the author.)

<sup>116</sup> Gaetano Salvemini: *Tendenze vecchie e necessità nuove del movimento operaio italiano*. Boulogne, 1922.

<sup>117</sup> Robert Michels: *Die Entwicklung der Theorien im modernen Sozialismus Italiens*. Leipzig, 1908.

<sup>118</sup> Roberto Michels: *Il Proletariato e la Borghesia nel movimento socialista italiano*. Saggio di Scienza

*Il Sindacalismo*, Milan-Palermo, 1917; *La Revisione del Marxismo*, Rome, 1909; *Il Neo-Marxismo*. Sorel e Marx, Boulogne, 1923.

<sup>108</sup> Giuseppe Prezzolini: *La Teoria Sindacalista*. Naples, 1909.

<sup>109</sup> Celso Ferrari: *I Partiti Politici nella Vita Sociale*. Turin, 1909.



a critical history of Italian socialism.<sup>119</sup> Lastly should be mentioned a brief but valuable article by Arturo Labriola.<sup>120</sup> A good general survey of the various Italian parties and their position shortly before the War is furnished in a book by the previously mentioned Neopolitan statistician and statesman, Napoleone Colajanni.<sup>121</sup>

On the subject of Fascism, there exists up to the present time, naturally enough, only the beginnings of a socio-historical treatment. In addition to the series of articles published by the present writer in the *Neue Züricher Zeitung*,<sup>122</sup> attention must be called to the recent somewhat analytical book by Gorgolini,<sup>123</sup> the interesting studies (which differ, however, rather widely in value) edited by Rodolfo Mondolfo of the University of Boulogne,<sup>124</sup> and the critical work of Salvatorelli.<sup>125</sup> None of these, however, really goes beyond the superficial; they scarcely represent an attempt at analysis of the fundamental nature of the movement. One

more attempt must be noted here, that of an explanation of a party in anthropological terms, by Cesare Lombroso, in his book on the anarchists.<sup>126</sup>

This lack of analysis by no means indicates lack of interest in these problems. Indeed, it is just in recent years that the penetrating works of Webb, Ostrogorski and the author on the party and the trade union have appeared in Italy. The last-named represents a complete reworking of the German edition, and takes especial account of Italian party relationships, so that it is to be considered as an essentially autochthonous work, especially since the author published several of the chapters contained in it first in the Italian periodical literature, and is himself connected with an Italian institution.<sup>127</sup> The reception accorded all these writings was a warm one, although, as a natural result of the literary situation in the peninsula, it was restricted to a small circle in the fields of sociology and politics. Attention should also be called here to a few slight attempts toward a sociology of the party movement. In a psychology of the Socialist movement in Italy, Ettore Ciccotti (the well-known scholar of ancient history at the University of Messina, and a theoretical and practical exponent of the doctrine of historical materialism as well) has drawn several interesting and provocative pictures of the milieu and the character of the Socialist party leaders and their associates, without, to be sure, making any closer analysis, particularly of the structure of the party and the etiology of leadership.<sup>128</sup> There is also a good psychological sketch by Alfonso de Pietri Tonelli of Italian social democracy.

<sup>126</sup> Cesare Lombroso: *Gli Anarchici*. Turin, 1894.

<sup>127</sup> Roberto Michels: *La Sociologia del Partito Politico nella Democrazia Moderna*. Turin, 1911.

<sup>128</sup> E. Ciccotti: *Psicologia del Movimento Socialista*. Bari, 1903.

*Sociografico-Politica*. Turin, 1908 (enlarged French edition: *Le Proletariat et la Bourgeoisie dans le mouvement socialiste italien particulièrement des ses origines à 1906*. Paris, 1921.) Selected parts therefrom in *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft*; "Proletariat und Bourgeoisie in der sozialistischen Bewegung Italiens. Studien zu einer Klassen- und Berufsanalyse des Sozialismus in Italien." (Vol. XXI No. 2, 1905.)

<sup>119</sup> Roberto Michels, *Storia Critica del Socialismo in Italia*. Firenze, 1924.

<sup>120</sup> Arturo Labriola: "Der Marxismus in Italien" in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft*, vol. XXXI, No. 3, pp. 625 ff.

<sup>121</sup> Napoleone Colajanni: *I Partiti politici in Italia*. Rome, 1912, Ed. pop.

<sup>122</sup> Robert Michels: "Der Aufstieg des Faschismus in Italien," in the *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, 26, 27 and 29 Dec., 1922.

<sup>123</sup> P. Gorgolini: *La Fascismo*. Paris, 1923.

<sup>124</sup> Rodolfo Mondolfo: *Il Fascismo e i partiti politici*. 2 vols. With contributions by Adolfo Zerboglio, Dino Grandi, Guido Bergamo, Giuseppe De Falco and Giovanni Zibordi. Boulogne, 1921/22.

<sup>125</sup> Luigi Salvatorelli: *Nazionalfascismo*. Turin, 1923.

## IX

The most significant normative trend of Italian sociology is represented by two conservative thinkers, the relative priority of whose theories is still a matter of argument, but who have worked them out quite independently of one another: Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosca. They have a great but little known predecessor in Vincenzo Gioberti.<sup>129</sup>

Pareto has drawn attention in two thought-provoking volumes on *Systèmes socialistes* (first published in French) to the impossibility, on the one hand, of domination by the mass, and, on the other, to the law of constant renewal of the ruling upper classes, a principle which he designates as the "circulation of the élite."<sup>130</sup> In these two scholarly volumes, Pareto has attempted to offer something quite new, in contrast to all earlier efforts in the field, in the form of a purely experimental sociology worked out on lines similar to those applied in a treatise in the field of natural science, on physics or chemistry.

The most valuable work of Pareto, however, is contained in his monumental two-volume treatise on sociology.<sup>131</sup> His main thesis here is that sociology has moved mainly in humanitarian garb. All present sociologists are metaphysical in their point of view, even the ones who call themselves rationalistic. There are even, in limited numbers, to be sure, "Christian sociologists." Pareto desires to do away with all metaphysics in the social sciences.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. his brilliant critique of the majority principle (Vincenzo Gioberti: *Del Rinascimento d'Italia*, Turin, 1851, pp. 128 ff.) Gioberti is also founder of the doctrine of the world mission of Italy.

<sup>130</sup> Vilfredo Pareto: *Les Systèmes Socialistes*. Paris, 1902. (The first Italian edition appeared in 6 volumes in Milan, 1915, in the *Raccolta di Breviari Intelletuali*.)

<sup>131</sup> Vilfredo Pareto: *Trattato di Sociologia generale*. Florence, 1916, 2 vols. (French translation by Payot.)

Under the concept of metaphysics, as he interprets it, falls Comte's *Philosophie Positive* as well as Bossuet's *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*. For both are dogmatic, and the differences in the dogma do not change this fact. Considered from this point of view, the sociology of Spencer, Letourneau and Degreaf is all basically dogmatic, ergo metaphysical. He who believes himself to be in possession of universal truth can never grant the existence of other truth in the world. The believing Christ and the sceptical free-thinker thus arouse in Pareto the same degree of impatience. He is an outspoken unbeliever (in the sense suggested above—that is, anti-dogmatic). Just as Jesus Christ once did, so Pareto considers it his duty to clear the temple of the false servants, and even to apply the rod, when it is necessary, in order to draw out from these false prophets the wisdom, into possession of which they often come by virtue of instinct, interest, need, even of emotion and perhaps sometimes of morality—all factors which stand in natural contrast to science.

Be it noted, in contrast to *science*. For Pareto is far from denying the value, for practical policy and for existence in general, of belief and emotion (the former of which does not interest him at all, and concerning the latter of which he nowhere expresses himself). On the contrary, Pareto teaches that belief, and, even more, the strife over conflicting beliefs furnishes an indispensable cementing force for a sound national life. He expresses a conviction that a people "senza fede"—Sorel would say "sans mythe"—must lose in collective value, because without that belief (non-logical acceptance), it must lose itself in the morasses of inactivity and idleness and even dissoluteness. Belief is, however, not truth. At the heart of Pareto's scientific reasoning is the sharp logical differentiation between the

concept of usefulness and that of truth. Out of that arises the gulf between the social or political need or usefulness of a theory and its relation to the facts (objective truth). Pareto even holds that truth, politically considered, may be injurious; untruth (illusion), on the other hand, may be politically useful.

The scientific influence of this great scholar (who very unfortunately died a short time ago) on the younger world of scholars in Italy today is enormous.<sup>132</sup> The fact that, in the last years of his life, he took up Fascism naturally increased this influence greatly.

Gaetano Mosca has in a measured but energetic fashion presented and defended the thesis that the majority will always find itself unable to, perhaps incapable of, taking over for itself the reins of government. Even should the dissatisfaction of the masses lead them successfully to rob the ruling class of its power, an organizing minority would inevitably arise from the masses to take over the functions of a new ruling class. The work of Mosca is of extraordinary importance in the history of political science (Machiavelli, Botero).<sup>133</sup> It is, indeed, to be considered one of the greatest projects in this field. The best product of the Mosca school is probably the politically oriented work of Carmelo Caristia on the analysis of present-day constitutionalism.<sup>134</sup> Worthy of mention also are a few of the works of

Franco Savorgnan, who was strongly influenced in his sociological views by Gumpowicz, and who did some valuable work in regard to homo- and heterogeneity. Caristia, as well as Massimo Fovel, were much influenced by German science.<sup>135</sup>

# X

Deserving of emphasis because of its special value is the work on sociology and mass psychology by the south Italian physician, Pasquale Rossi,<sup>136</sup> who died prematurely in 1905. This work contains a most carefully worked-out history of the theories in this field, an undertaking as yet (so far as we know) not superseded by any other in Europe, and giving evidence of an excellent historical sense, wide knowledge of literature, theoretical acumen and capacity for analysis. Like the overwhelming majority of modern Italian sociologists (Cosentini, Renda, Niceforo, Mosca, Caristia, Ciccotti, Sergi, Squillace, Colajanni), Rossi is a south Italian with a greater or less intermixture of Hellenic blood.

It was another south Italian sociologist, the savant Fausto Squillace, who first conceived the idea of publication of a cyclopaedia of sociology, and who carried it out, not, to be sure, entirely satisfactorily, since instead of relying upon a competent staff of collaborators, he completed the entire work himself; unsatisfactory further because he, although fairly well trained philosophically and juristically, was quite devoid of knowledge in the field of economics, and his book is therefore even more one-sided and incomplete than is permissible in this sort of production, which in its nature rests upon selection and cannot hope to be complete. It must

<sup>132</sup> Gino Borgatta: *L'opera sociologica e le feste giubilari di Vilfredo Pareto*. Turin, 1917. Also the memorial volume *Jubilé du professeur Vilfredo Pareto*, 1917 (publié par l'université de Lausanne), Lausanne, 1920; Umberto Ricci: *Politica ed economia*, Rome, 1919. See also the Pareto number of the *Giornale degli Economisti*, Jan., 1924, containing articles by Pantaleoni, the present writer and others.

<sup>133</sup> Gaetano Mosca: *Elementi di Scienza Politica*. Turin, 1896, (2nd enlarged edition, 1913).

<sup>134</sup> Carmelo Caristia: *L'Analisi odierna del Costituzionalismo*. Turin, 1908.

<sup>135</sup> Massimo Fovel: *Scienza politica e scienze dell'amministrazione*. Saggio-Boulogne, 1906.

<sup>136</sup> Pasquale Rossi: *Sociologia e Psicologia collettiva*. 2nd ed. Palermo, 1906 (?).



be granted, of course, that Squillace broke with the prejudice that the preparation of a cyclopaedia for a science still so young is an objectively impossible undertaking, and that he, in opposition to the pessimists, showed that sociology is, after all, far enough advanced to present, in syncretical form, a great and suggestive work of reference.<sup>187</sup>

# XI

The matter of sociological periodicals, associations and meetings can be dealt with briefly. In Rome there appeared for almost twenty-three years, under the editorship of two university professors, Guido Cavaglieri and Giuseppe Sergi (one an anthropologist and the other in the field of administrative law) the *Rivista Italiana di Sociologia*, at its time the most carefully edited and scientifically most valuable review of international sociology, with an outstanding circle of contributors. Among its many titles to distinction is the publication of an investigation, conducted by a number of Italian scholars, of the concept of progress.<sup>188</sup> In 1919, unfortunately, shortly after the death of its untiring editor Cavaglieri, the *Rivista* had to cease publication. A successor has as yet not been found. There are, to be sure, at least three journals which show an interest in sociology at any rate within the bounds of their own special fields: the *Rivista Internazionale di Filosofia del Diritto*, edited by Giorgio del Vecchio in Rome, the statistico-demographic periodical *Metron*, under the editorship of Corrado

Gini in Padua, and the general scientific journal *Scientia* in Milan, conducted by Eugenio Rignano, the successor of Ardigò as member of the *Académie Française*. The three editors are all writers of note in the field of sociology.

Since 1910, Italy has had a sociological association, with a high official, the criminologist Baron R. Garofalo, at its head. Its activity is, however, restricted to Rome. It bears a primarily academic stamp, in the good as well as the bad sense. Up to the present, it has not conducted meetings, although it helped to organize the eighth Congress of the International Institute, which took place in Rome in the autumn of 1912. At this Congress, the Italian sociologists (only a small number of whom appeared) played a less prominent part, both numerically and in the extent of their participation, than the foreign, particularly the French, sociologists.<sup>189</sup> This statement naturally implies no judgment of value.

Since 1920, a new International Institute of Sociology has arisen in Turin, owing its existence to Francisco Cosentini, the librarian and Dozent for legal philosophy at the University. Beside him, his energetic wife, Lilly Cosentini Frank, of Neuchâtel, *licenciée en droit* at the University of Lausanne, must be mentioned. The Institute deserves credit for the holding of lectures by outside speakers in Turin, and has summoned the sociologists of the world to two international congresses (Turin in 1921, Vienna in 1922). A third is in preparation, to be held in Rome in Easter, 1924. A number of scholars of note are honorary members of the institute. It (or its leader) has, however, fallen into a bitter dispute with the older and more influential *Institut Internationale de Sociologie*

<sup>187</sup> Fausto Squillace: *Dizionario di Sociologia*. 2nd ed. Palermo, 1911. For the author (another recently taken, unfortunately, by death) there is a palliation for many of his errors in the fact that he, in true south Italian enthusiasm, did all his work in his little native city, Catanzaro, far from all auxiliary scientific resources.

<sup>188</sup> *La Concezione Sociologia del Progresso*. Turin, 1912.

<sup>189</sup> See *Annales de l'Institut International de Sociologie*, Tome XIV, contenant les Travaux du congrès de Rome: Le Progrès. Paris, 1923.

in Paris (founded in 1893), which is brilliantly led by René Worms, and can look back on a relatively extensive scientific tradition. The new institute enjoys little support, even from the majority of Italian sociologists. Cosentini holds a very broad conception of sociology, which includes practical politics, pacifism, social policy, etc.<sup>140</sup>

## XII

In conclusion, a few words concerning the connections between German and Italian sociology. Outwardly, they are few. Among foreign influences, Italian sociology, as we have already cursorily indicated, has felt really only those of English and French scholars. In addition to Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer has won followers in Italy (Colajanni,<sup>141</sup> Enrico Ferri,<sup>142</sup> Garofalo,<sup>143</sup> Loria.<sup>144</sup> Somewhat later began the great stimulation of sociology aroused by the work of

Gabriel Tarde and also by Gustav Le Bon. Scipio Sighele may be cited as the best and most original representative of this later trend.<sup>145</sup> Finally attention may be called to the great scientific impression which the older French scholars of the first half of the past century, as the contemporaries of Comte, Alexis de Tocqueville, Proudhon and later Hypolite Taine have produced in approximately equally permanent measure. This influence has been unmistakable, especially on the excellent scholar Gaetano Mosca. Most of the Italians, however, possess the advantage over their predecessors of systematically worked-out premises.

As far as German sociology is concerned, it has remained practically without significance in Italy. Sombart is known only for his work in economic history and socialistic research. Tönnies has remained entirely unknown, save for occasional contributions to Italian periodicals. We find him cited occasionally in a footnote; thus, for example by Loria. The name of Max Weber is not widely known in Italy. The present author has concerned himself to make him known, at least to the readers of the greater Italian periodical, the *Nuova Antologia* in Rome.<sup>146</sup> Recently, a few of his political writings, dating from the collapse of monarchical government in Germany, have appeared through the publishing house of Laterza in Bari, with which Benedetto Croce is closely connected.<sup>147</sup> Of translations of important German sociological works there is almost no trace. The writings of Karl Bücher, which in their French translation have made such a deep impression, have unfortunately not appeared in Italy.

<sup>140</sup> The essence of the conflict, aside from the question of the bounds of the science of sociology, and a certain natural competition between the two Institutes, is a delicate problem of typical post-war character. Worms considers that the time for international congresses, including the Germans, has not yet arrived, but, on the other hand, does not wish to give up entirely collaboration with the German scholars. As a result, the Paris Institute waits, and, for the time being, as far as its particular function is concerned, the holding of meetings, it marks time. Cosentini, in opposition to this, considers it his problem, just at this time, to call the recent enemies together for common political activity, and hopes to unite them by his program. For that reason, he is an enthusiastic supporter of international congresses. This is not the place for us to express a personal opinion in the question, which has been, in any case, sufficiently aired by both contending parties.

<sup>141</sup> Colajanni: *Il Socialismo*.

<sup>142</sup> Enrico Ferri: *Socialismo e Scienza positiva* (Darwin, Spencer, Marx). Rome, 1894.

<sup>143</sup> Raffaele Garofalo: *La superstizione socialista*. Turin, 1895.

<sup>144</sup> Achille Loria: the chapter on Herbert Spencer in: *Verso la Giustizia Sociale* (*Idee, Battaglie ed Apostoli*). Milan, 1904.

<sup>145</sup> See especially Scipio Sighele: *L'Intelligenza della Folla*.

<sup>146</sup> Robert Michels, Max Weber, in the *Nuova Antologia* of Dec. 16, 1920.

<sup>147</sup> Max Weber: *Parlamento e Governo sul nuovo ordinamento della Germania*. Bari, 1921.

Only a few border sociologists are represented in Italian translations, such as Weininger with his book on sex and character,<sup>148</sup> or Steiner with his popular works,<sup>149</sup> or Möbius with his studies of woman and intellectualism.<sup>150</sup> Only one writer in the field who uses the German language has won real influence in Italy, the Polish Ludwig Gumplowicz, whose book on the sociological concept of the state<sup>151</sup> was translated and quickly went out of print. Most of these books have appeared through the great scientific publishing house of Bocca in Turin, which has been of great service to sociology both at home and abroad.

Even more restricted, if that is possible, than the influence of German sociologists upon the Italian science, has been the stream of influence in the other direction, of Italians upon German scholars. That is all the more significant, as Italian sociology has a distinctly longer history than the German, and further, at least in its earlier performances, must be considered as more stimulating and scientifically more original. Such a monumental and at the same time foundation-laying work as for instance that of Pareto has no compeer in Germany, except for the great work of Max Weber, which remained, however, in rudimentary form. The chief obstacle which prevents Italian sociologists from being well known in Germany is naturally the language. Great works of German scholars in sociology, as for instance that of Franz Oppenheimer (which, to be sure,

has never been completed) make practically no use of the fine achievements of Italian social science.<sup>152</sup> Even Ferdinand Tönnies has no acquaintance with the valuable literature which has been collected in Italian in the field of the sociology of public opinion, to which subject he has devoted a third volume.<sup>153</sup> Only a very scanty number of German authors in the field have a knowledge and understanding of the corresponding Italian literature. Among these is Hans Kurella, who owes much to the Lombroso school.<sup>154</sup> Of recent years, too, the works of Scipio Sighele have received more attention, very late, to be sure.<sup>155</sup> On the whole, one can say that the problem of mass psychology, to which Italian science has devoted more than a quarter of a century of attention, not only arouses no interest in Germany, but has been felt especially just by the liberal and democratic groups, as a disturbing claimant for their attention. When the present writer in 1911 put out his sociology of the party system in a German edition,<sup>156</sup> the problem aroused at first no special interest. It was only about ten years later that the work received a delayed but enthusiastic recognition. This attitude of indifference on the part of German scholars toward the problems of mass psychology and the party system is undoubtedly connected with the delayed and uncertain development of public life in general in Germany. And even today, when this problem has called forth in Germany at least a quantitatively considerable literature, German scholars have

<sup>148</sup> E. Weininger: *Sesso e carattere*, 2nd ed., Turin; see also by the same author: *Interno alle cose supreme*, 2nd ed., Turin, 1923.

<sup>149</sup> Steiner, *I punti essenziali della questione sociale*. Turin, 1920.

<sup>150</sup> Möbius: *Inferiorit  mentale della donna*. Turin, 1904.

<sup>151</sup> Gumplowicz, *Il concetto sociologico dello Stato*. Turin, 1914.

<sup>152</sup> Franz Oppenheimer: *System der Soziologie*. Two volumes have already appeared, Jena, 1921-2.

<sup>153</sup> Kritik der  ffentlichen Meinung. Berlin.

<sup>154</sup> Hans Kurella: *Die Intellektuellen und die Gesellschaft*. Wiesbaden, 1913.

<sup>155</sup> For example, Carl Geyer: *Der Radikalismus in der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung. Ein soziologischer Versuch*. Jena, 1923.

<sup>156</sup> Leipzig.



not yet, in their analysis and critique of the mass psychology of democracy, made use of the treasures of Italian sociology, so especially rich in just this field.

## XIII

It is perhaps worth while, by way of conclusion, to list some of the works of Italian scholars which have been translated into German, and from which the reader in that language can gain at least a fair picture (though a scant and incomplete one) of the achievements of Italian sociology.

Enrico Feri: *Die revolutionäre Methode* (translated and edited, with an introduction by Robert Michels), Leipzig, 1908.

Achille Loria: *Die wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen der herrschenden Gesellschaftsordnung* (translated by Carl Gründberg, 1895).

Alte und neue Einwände gegen den historischen Materialismus (in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft*, vol. xxv, no. 3).

Beiträge zur ökonomischen Theorie der sozialen Klassen (in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft*, 1923).

Alfredo Niceforo: *Anthropologie der nichtbesitzenden Klassen* (translated and edited by Robert Michels and Ad. Köster).

Joseph Salvioli: *Der Kapitalismus im Altertum. Studien über die römische Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (translated from the French by Karl Kautsky, Jr.), Stuttgart, 1912.

Franco Savorgnan: *Verschmelzung und gegenseitige Penetration der Rassen und Nationalitäten* (in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft*, vol. xxxv, no. 3. *Soziologische Fragmente*. Innsbruck, 1909.

Emanuele Sella: *Der Wandel des Besitzes. Versuch einer Theorie des Reichtums als Organismus* (translated by Blumstein), Leipzig-Munich, 1912.

Scipio Sighele: *Psychologie des Auflaufs und der Massenverbrechen* (translated by Hans Kurella), Dresden and Leipzig, 1897.

Fausto Squillace: *Die soziologischen Theorien* (translated by Rud. Eisler). Leipzig, 1911.

## CULTURE AND ENVIRONMENT

## II. THE CONTINUITY OF NATURE AND CULTURE

L. L. BERNARD

WITH respect to another phase of the relation of culture and environment the culture interpretationists are much more explicit and vocal. It is their contention that environment does not determine the type of culture, but at the most only limits it negatively. Some of them indeed hold that culture is underived and peculiarly an entity or a process in itself. It will be our object in this section to examine these contentions in some detail and to show that culture is a child of nature and never is able to disconnect itself entirely from nature, but rather supplements nature and has developed as an extension both of the natural environment and of the adjusting organism as an aid to further and more successful adjustment.

What has already been said will be helpful in pursuing this objective.

Practically all of the recent anthropologists have emphasized the passive rôle of the natural environment. Wissler says, "Environment furnishes the materials and in that sense only limits invention. To invent a birchbark-covered house a man must have lived among birch trees, but the mere living there does not require such an invention."<sup>22</sup> Lowie declares, "The environment furnishes the builders of cultural structures with brick and mortar but it does not furnish the architect's plan."<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Man and Culture*, p. 319.

<sup>23</sup> *Culture and Ethnology*, p. 64. See also Kroeber, "Eighteen Professions," *Amer. Anthropologist*, N.S., XVII: 283-88 (1915)

Again, he says, "The environment . . . enters into culture, not as a formative but rather as an inert element ready to be selected from and molded."<sup>24</sup> "The development of a particular architectural style and the selection of a special material from among an indefinite number of possible styles and materials are what characterize a given culture. Since geography permits more than a single adjustment to the same conditions, it cannot give the interpretation sought by the student of culture."<sup>25</sup> Dixon is less dogmatic, but agrees that "in the main environment is permissive, not mandatory; in general it offers opportunities, be they few or many, which man may take or leave as he chooses."<sup>26</sup> Goldenweiser's formula is perhaps slightly more behavioristic, but it amounts to the same thing: "Civilization is dynamic, a thing of growth and development; while environment is comparatively inert and static. . . . Civilizational changes cannot be derived from the characteristics of an environment that does not change"(1)<sup>27</sup> The argument of Wallis<sup>28</sup> is longer and more detailed,

but to the same effect. Boas not only takes the same view,<sup>29</sup> but is apparently father of this ideological concept and viewpoint among modern anthropologists in the United States.

With regard to these contentions, or this contention, certain questions are appropriate. In the first place, is it true that only culture is dynamic and mandatory and that environment (the natural environment is apparently implied) is merely static and permissive, or the provider of materials only? I have shown elsewhere<sup>30</sup> that in the early stages of empirical invention it is nature that furnishes the model for the invention, or the architect's plan. The early club is but an extension of the arm; the beginning of the hammer is in a stone that weights the fist. The hatchet or ax is at first a sharp stone held in the hand, later to be held by the grasping fingers or a split stick or bound to a handle by means of withes. The throwing stick—and later the bow—involves the principle of the resilient twig, and in fact grows out of it. The digging stick, taken at first directly from nature, is later sharpened by man (culture), and later still is pointed with a flat stone, a shell, or bone, and finally with metal. Archeologists cannot tell where nature left off fashioning the first hatchet or *coup de poing* and man began to do the work better. The first boat was doubtless a floating log and the first propellers the arms of the man stretched upon it.

Likewise, in the realm of social inventions man also first imitated nature and there is yet a great dispute among the

create nothing when the soil is unprepared. Coal, water, and iron have always existed, but it was not till 'the appointed time' that a man thought of bringing them together and making a steam-engine." (*An Introduction to Anthropology*, pp. 102-104.)

<sup>29</sup> *The Mind of Primitive Man*, Ch. VI.

<sup>30</sup> "Invention and Social Progress," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, XXIX: 1-33 (July, 1923).

<sup>24</sup> *Loc. Cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

<sup>26</sup> *The Building of Cultures*, p. 13.

<sup>27</sup> *Early Civilization*, p. 300.

<sup>28</sup> "It is true that certain climatic conditions are favorable to civilization and others are unfavorable. Yet these are only conditions. Save beyond certain limits, Nature can impose upon man nothing more than alternatives. He can do well where conditions are unfavorable; he can do poorly where they are favorable. In a word, man is more than a creature of environment. With advance in civilization he is able more and more to escape the exactions of the environment, to impose his will more masterfully upon Nature, to conquer his conqueror. . . . The degree and kind of adaptation to physical environment depend upon the will, the training, the social inheritance of those who inhabit a given locality. If we wish to predict what a people will do when they move into a new environment, it is more important to know the people than to know the place, and, in fact one must know both. . . . 'Environment' by itself can

social psychologists as to whether nature or culture is dominant in the fashioning of human institutions.<sup>31</sup> The essential dogma of the natural law metaphysicians and theologians of the middle ages, and even down to our day, was that nature provides the basic patterns for all human behavior, which in the concrete particulars is made up of imperfect copies of these natural patterns.<sup>32</sup> This is also what Plato had in mind in his concept of the noumenal and the phenomenal, the perfect "idea" and the imperfect "copy."<sup>33</sup> The modern social evolutionist likewise sees our social institutions as modified copies of earlier social practices which must have grown out of the original biological nature of our prehuman ancestors. But the social evolutionist, being a scientist instead of a metaphysician or a theologian, does not ordinarily hold with Plato that nature has in ultramundane storage a fund of perfect ideas or institutional architects' plans from which he may draw. Nor does he find evidence of a golden age in the past where existed perfect social institutions of which ours are but degenerate imitations. He is more likely to hold that there has been progress in the development of our social behavior and that this particular form of our culture is now better able to adjust human organisms to their natural environments than were the older forms of behavior or institutions which he believes grew originally out of prehuman biological nature. For these institutions, like the physical inventions already men-

tioned, are culture and their function is that of adjusting man to his environment, originally his natural environment, but now largely his artificial social or cultural environment.

No one will deny, however, that more complex recent inventions (or culture) are not direct copies, or even obvious indirect or modified copies, of the structures in the natural environment. While the old empirical inventions still occur and nature models are constantly copied more or less directly in making such inventions, we have now entered dominantly into a period of projective invention.<sup>34</sup> Here only the objective in the adjustment process remains the same as in the era of the dominance of empirical invention, and even this objective has usually become social rather than individual. The materials out of which the projective invention is constructed in its initial form are purely cultural, that is, symbolical (categories 1, (2) and 2, (2) of the classification of culture proposed in Section I of this article). Such inventions are first made in terms of imagery, verbal symbols, with mathematical formulas. Later these symbolical descriptions are transformed or translated into computations, specifications, rules, constitutions, codes, creeds, diagrams, blue prints, etc., to serve as guides to the social and mechanical engineers whose business it is to transform them into social institutions (such as states, religions, school systems, mercantile organizations, etc.) and into machines, railroads, factories, bridges, and the like.<sup>35</sup> It is evidently this stage of projective invention that the culture determinists frequently have in mind when they speak of the greater activity of culture in providing the model or the architect's plan. It is manifestly quite true that, while nature was more active

<sup>31</sup> See McDougall, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, (1908), and Bernard, *Instinct: A Study in Social Psychology* (1924).

<sup>32</sup> See *Summa Theologica*, by St. Thomas Aquinas; *Aquinas Ethicus; or The Moral Teaching of St. Thomas*, tr. with notes by Joseph Rickaby (1896); and *War and Peace* by Hugo Grotius, for examples of this viewpoint.

<sup>33</sup> Plato, *The Republic*, Bks. V, VII, and IX; also the *Phaedrus* and *Parmenides*.

<sup>34</sup> *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, XXIX: pp. 3, 17-29.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-21.



in providing models or plans in early stages of the development of adjustment technique (or culture), culture itself comes in time to be the immediately more active factor. I say immediately, for back behind all culture lies the highly dynamic fact of nature demanding and compelling the adjustment. In fact, all culture itself, as was pointed out in Section I, has grown up as a means to this adjustment, no more and no less. As Herder intimated a long while ago,<sup>36</sup> when culture becomes an end in itself and neglects to make the adjustment of man to nature its primary objective, or even works in opposition to this end, it pays the penalty of its ignorance or arrogance by being destroyed.

There is another sense in which culture is the immediately more active factor in mediating an adjustment between man and his environment. This is the case of the borrowing of the culture pattern or architect's plan. Here especially we see illustrated the contention of the culture determinists that the natural environment does not demand of culture one and one only plan, nor even the pattern best calculated to make the most effective adjustment between the organism or the group and its environment. Any one of several patterns, and that possibly the least well adapted, may be the one that is selected, or that imposes itself upon the situation. How many illustrations do we see of this very thing in our society today! In politics, in government, in education, in religion, in business, everywhere, not the best, but frequently a very poor pattern shapes our conduct. Even yet we are trying to learn about human nature and society through the classics; we guide justice by the common law; the dead hand of metaphysics hampers our souls in religion; the dogma of the sacredness of pri-

vate profit strangles to death the youthful ideal of social welfare and civic righteousness; the social worker rejoices more at fanning the feeble flame of a single feeble mind, a dissipated or diseased body, or a wrecked personality than at providing a good environment for the healthy development of the ninety-nine yet uncontaminated. Tradition, custom, ignorance (the limitation of our experience to a single borrowed pattern) estop us from adjusting intelligently and well. In such ways also, as well as through projected and progressive inventions, does culture often select our behavior and dominate us. And all this may—and the more often does—happen before the development of the projected invention is in full swing.

But whence does this borrowed pattern arise? The typical culture determinist often does not attempt to account for its origin. He starts with two categories in the causation of culture, invention and diffusion.<sup>37</sup> His theory of invention is but little developed and is usually limited to the statement that it is one of the two sources of culture. Even Dixon, who gives more attention to invention than does any other contemporary American anthropologist,<sup>38</sup> devotes only one chapter to the subject, while he gives the larger part of five chapters to diffusion, and the analysis of the latter is far more adequate and detailed than is his analysis of the former. The reason, I suppose, for the greater attention lavished upon diffusion by the anthropologists is that their science is still largely descriptive, a field and a

<sup>37</sup> See Wissler, *Man and Culture*, Chs. VI—XI; Lowie, *op cit.*, Ch. IV; Dixon, *op. cit.*, Chs. II—IV; Kroeber, *Anthropology*, Ch. VIII; Goldenweiser, *op. cit.*, Ch. XIV; Wissler, *Introd. to Social Anthropology*, Ch. XX; Wallis, *op. cit.*, Ch. XXXIX.

<sup>38</sup> *Op. cit.*, Ch. II. Compare his theory of invention with my theory set forth in *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, XIX: 1-33.

<sup>36</sup> Johann Gottfried Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*.

museum science.<sup>39</sup> The relations of the anthropologists in the past have been much more closely conditioned with the geologists and the geographers than with the psychologists and the sociologists. They are only in the beginning of their development as an independent science, which means that description and classification still appear to them to be much more important than fundamental psychological and sociological analysis. They see evidences of diffusion everywhere they go in their travels. Their physical eyes can detect these data. But the analysis of the inventive process is an abstract one; it must be seen in its fundamental aspects through the knowledge of much more abstract sciences than those of geology and geography, and these sciences the anthropologists have as yet mastered but inadequately.

Thus the culture determinist is ordinarily content to stop with the concept of diffusion and does not care to go back of it to inquire into the ultimate source of the culture pattern received by borrowing.<sup>40</sup> Some of the diffusionists write as if nothing was ever invented, but all things were borrowed. With this truncated point of view they erect culture into an absolute and underived entity. Lowie has expressed this thesis forcibly. He says, "Culture is a thing *sui generis* which can be explained only in terms of itself. This is not mysticism but sound scientific method. The biologist, whatever metaphysical speculations he may indulge in as to the ultimate origin of life, does not depart in his workaday mood from the principle that every cell is derived from some other cell. So the ethnologist will

do well to postulate the principle, *Omnis cultura ex cultura*."<sup>41</sup> If there is any doubt as to Lowie's belief that culture is underived from nature, the following should settle the point: "Culture thus appears as a closed system. We may not be able to explain all cultural phenomena or at least beyond a certain point; but inasmuch as we can explain them at all, explanation must remain on the cultural plane."<sup>42</sup> With this last contention I wish to take direct issue. It is a "culture-in-a-vacuum" theory which I shall attempt further to account for later.

If, as Lowie and other members of the Boas school seem to think, culture was not derived from nature—is, in fact, underived—then how shall it be accounted for? Shall we be content merely to take it as we find it, study its behavior now, and disregard its origins? Such a program is illusory; it cannot be carried out in practice. Culture is not static. It has a history, and the human mind is curious about this history. The question of the origins of our culture is the oldest one in our traditions. All of the great theologies or mythologies and philosophies have attempted to answer it, and the very fact that a group of culture interpretationists would consciously bar it is perhaps an unconscious recognition of the fact that it is knocking clamorously for recognition. The early theologies answered, "Revelation." The Greek and mediaeval metaphysicians replied, "natural law," "innate ideas," "intuition." The modern metaphysicians have responded to this same query as to the origins of culture with the supposedly magic words "intuition" and "instinct." Would the culture interpretationists accept any of these explanations? It is difficult to believe that they would.

Whether they explain their underived

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Wissler, in E. C. Hayes (ed.), *Recent Developments in the Social Sciences* (1927), pp. 52-58.

<sup>40</sup> Boas, *op cit.*, pp. 163 ff.; Goldenweiser, "Culture and Environment," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, XXI, p. 629 (1916); Lowie, *op cit.*, Ch. IV.

<sup>41</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

culture in terms of such archaic formulas or whether they ignore the problem altogether, Lowie's words would seem to justify his readers in supposing he believes that in the beginning there was Culture, which some have called God, and that Culture created all else. The analogy perforce stops here, for neither did Culture do his work in six days, nor did he rest on the seventh. He never was so active as now. Nor did he create in the beginning, but was himself first created in the manner described above. This attempt to return to the primitive cosmology of the Hebrews and Babylonians (save merely in the more modernistic terminology employed by the culture interpretationists) seems clearly implied in the words of some of the members of the Boas school of American anthropology. Does this trend also throw some light upon the fact that various of these modern fundamentalists are also antagonistic to the theory of evolution?<sup>43</sup> Lowie appears also to be laboring under a peculiar misapprehension as to the point of view of those who argue for the continuity of the natural and the cultural environments. While he recognizes the biological necessity for the adaptation of the organism to environment, he asserts that "such adaptation is no more spontaneously generated by the environment than are strictly biological adaptations."<sup>44</sup> I do not recall anyone since the days of the old anthropogeographers<sup>45</sup> who has held such a theory of the direct and immediate physical causation of culture, and it is not certain that they had in mind any

such direct mechanical causation as is here implied. It is more reasonable to suppose that they knew so little of the mechanics of the conditioning of responses that they merely did not try to explain the process by which the culture of ideas (category 2, (2) of the classification of culture proposed above) arises. However, if they did mean to imply such a direct causal relationship we should probably range this theory alongside Bastian's doctrine of universal or innate ideas in the archeological museum of primitive philosophic culture and leave it there. To invoke it now as a negative argument to support the dogma of an underived, *sui generis* culture is merely to create a man of straw.

There is no reason to suppose that either natural or cultural environment ever spontaneously generates adaptation or culture. Adaptation is always the accommodation of an organism to its environment through the mechanism of impact or of stimulus and response.<sup>46</sup> Accommodation by impact applies to inorganic bodies and to organisms behaving as inorganic materials. Accommodation through stimulus and response is the type normally employed by living organisms and is the mechanism by which the higher types of culture are produced. In fact, all of the forms of culture except material culture (category 1, (1) of my proposed classification, corresponding to the physico social environment) are evolved through the stimulus-response mechanism. Thus the bio-social, the psycho-social, and the most important phases of the derivative control or institutional environments are cultural products arising through stimulus-response accommodation or adaptation. All of the higher forms of culture, that is, all except non symbolic culture of material objects, begins the neuro-muscular, neuro-

<sup>43</sup> See Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, pp. 20-27; "Diffusionism and the American School of Historical Ethnology," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.* XXXI 19-38; Barnes (Ed.), *The History and Prospects of the Social Sciences*, pp. 221-232; Boas, *op. cit.*, Ch. VII; Lowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 96; Kroeber, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9; Wissler, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, pp. 217-218.

<sup>44</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 63-64.

<sup>45</sup> See, e.g., Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws*.

<sup>46</sup> See Bernard, *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, pp. 33-36.



psychic responses of the organism to stimuli;<sup>47</sup> and even material objects, when considered as culture instead of as natural environment, are fashioned from the raw materials of nature through that adaptive process we call the stimulus-response process.

Perhaps part of the misconception of the culture determinists about the character of culture is due to a misapprehension on their part as to the nature of mind, the mechanism through which supposedly culture becomes effective. The behavioristic notion that mind is not a material entity, a thing in itself, but a conceptual term used to characterize the functional integration of one's behavior or conduct, is now generally accepted in all scientific circles. The day of searching for a material soul in the brain, or more specifically in the pineal gland, or even in the heart, seems definitely past. If one's mind is the integrative conceptual characterization of the logic of his behavior, how does this behavior, whose logic or organic rationale is all the mind we know, arise? Here is the point at which the anthropologist who would formulate a theory of culture, and of its relation to environment, must be a psychologist, perhaps even a social psychologist. Many of the anthropologists have been content to be merely field workers and collectors, or museum technologists, thinking thereby to establish their claims to be included in the category of exact scientists and scorning acquaintance with such "speculative" subjects as psychology, social psychology, and sociology. But when they generalize their data—and of what use are ungeneralized data—they must become sociologists (or pseudo-sociologists) in spite of themselves. Whence, then, does this directive mind,

or initial culture (category 2, (2) of our classification of culture) to which the culture interpretationists pin their faith, arise? Clearly, it must have arisen, like all other aspects of culture, out of man's attempts to adjust himself to the world in which he lives, either by acquiring adaptive habits (subjective means) or by transforming his environment (objective means). In fact the subjective and objective methods of adjustment always have gone on together. Mind not merely arises out of this adjustment process; it is the logic or methodology of this adjustment process itself. When objectivated in symbolic form it becomes the external psychosocial environment. If this mind in its primitive form as subjective behavior and the symbolic rationale of adjustment technique expands in time into objectivated traditions, beliefs, creeds, philosophy, even science and the sciences (those things the anthropologists have denominated non-material culture), this fact in no wise makes it less a means for the control of the environment.

In fact, it is primarily through science (or logically organized symbolic culture) that society now directs the reorganization of the environment, whether natural or cultural. Wallis and the others are correct when they say that mind and culture (especially the objectivated or social aspects of mind) have great power in utilizing and controlling the environment; but they are equally incorrect when they regard the environment as without power to influence mind or culture. Changing environments (natural and cultural) are constantly acting as stimuli which recondition man's responses to that environment and thus are active in the development or creation of new phases of mind and culture. It would be entirely correct to say that the presence of the coal is at some stage in the cultural developmental process the deci-

<sup>47</sup> See "Neuro-Psychic technique," *Psychol. Rev.*, XXX: 407-37 (1923) for a fuller discussion of this matter.

sive factor in producing those mental responses or culture patterns which guide its utilizations. It was the presence of the coal which originally called forth the mental or cultural utilization response. It was the original *sine qua non* of the development of these responses. It is only in such cases as where one people borrows ready made from another people the mental or cultural patterns for the utilization of coal and thereby discovers coal and the virtues of coal for the first time that the culture determinists' dictum that it is mind or culture that acts upon the environment (coal) and not the environment (coal) that acts upon the mind appears to be true. In such cases it is true, but these are obviously highly sophisticated cases which could appear to the culture interpretationists so all-important only in a period when they are so patently under the domination of the diffusion hypothesis of the origin of culture. We must remember that, after all, all culture had to be invented sometime and that all mind had to evolve out of the adjustment process, and that mind and culture were originally the cumulative responses of men to environment in this adjustment process. At first mind and culture were subjective and personal, but in time they became objective (objectivated) and social.<sup>48</sup> Antecedent to mind or culture was environment, and out of environment all things sprang, including mind (the cumulative logic of behavior) and culture (the accumulation of man's technique of adjustment to environment and the transformed or manufactured materials for that adjustment). Even culture as objectivated mind becomes environment, superimposed and resuperimposed upon the old natural environment, and in its turn helps to create new mind and culture in this adjustment process.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

Thus it becomes clear that the culture of behavior or non-material culture arises in the organism and is objectivated through neuro-muscular response as overt behavior, material objects and symbols. Overt behavior and material cultural objects may also be symbolic. This inner development or growth of culture through the stimulus-response mechanism takes place by means of the conditioning of responses. If no culture can be produced in and by the organism without the conditioning of responses, it is equally true that no conditioning of responses can occur without a stimulus (or an impulse) which originally came from the environment; and this means ultimately the natural environment. There are always two terms in the adjustment process, the environment and the organism. Behavior culture is simply accumulated or stored (inner or external) adjustment technique, preserved to serve as tools or means to an easier future adjustment. If the organism responds selectively according to its nature or previous development, including its acquired behavior patterns or cultural development, nevertheless it responds. Also it responds to the cultural environment (outside and inside the organism) in essentially the same way in which it responds to the natural environment, that is, through the reception of stimuli. If there is any difference in the degrees of activity or passivity with which the cultural and natural environments provide stimuli, it must arise wholly from the different degrees of mobility of the two types of environment on the one hand and from the different degrees of their immediacy on the other hand. Since the culture of behavior arises within the organism and consists of behavior patterns and of social or cultural patterns, it may be regarded as more immediate in some of its forms. But this would scarcely be the case where a house, a city,

or trained animals, or trained men constitute the cultural environment, although some of these would ordinarily be more dynamically mobile and operate more directly as providers of stimuli to responses.

It should not be surprising in the light of this analysis, therefore, and in this day of a vast accumulation of culture and its superimposition upon the natural environment, to find that the cultural environment offers more stimuli to the production of new cultural responses than does the now largely disintegrated natural environment. But, this fact does not make of the culture of behavior an underived factor in the production of culture. Its naturalistic origin and its derived character are clearly evident. The derivation of the culture of material objects from nature is very clearly perceived as a transformation ultimately and more or less directly of nature itself. Nor does the apparent disavowance of existing culture from nature prevent the natural environment from frequently taking the lead, even in this day of the apparently overwhelming domination of culture, in the determination of new culture. In fact, the most profound cultural movements and determinations appear still to be initiated and determined by the natural environment, although of course indirectly rather than directly. It is true, as the culture determinists contend, that frequently nature offers a variety of possibilities of cultural response or adjustment and that the borrowed culture pattern selects from among these and uses what it finds meet for its purpose. Thus the scenery is made to conform to the play, rather than that the play is rewritten to fit the given stage and scenery. But is not this also exactly what happens if we reverse the situation and make culture provide a number of plays from which one will be selected as best suited to the existing stage and scenery? Culture may—

indeed often is—called upon to provide a new play to fit an existing stage. It is of course true, in keeping with the former supposition, that man may either mine coal, till the soil, or farm the Republican voters, in Pennsylvania, according to the cultural pattern that is dominant in any particular locality or person. Yet the distribution of these forms of behavior can scarcely be said to be determined primarily by the accident of the distribution of borrowed culture patterns.

Let us take as an example the island of Manhattan which has not lacked for variety of imported culture patterns. Here among others we find the patterns of hunting, fishing, farming, commerce, shipping, manufacturing, the stock exchange, the building of sky scrapers. In fact, there was a sort of historical succession of culture patterns on Manhattan in somewhat the order here stated. But, in spite of their early familiarity with the hunting and fishing patterns, the Manhattanese for some strange reason (strange indeed if we accept the culture interpretationist's theory of the origin of culture by diffusion) gave them up in favor of commerce and shipping. In the course of time, for an equally strange reason, they began to operate a stock exchange and to build sky scrapers. Did this change occur merely because borrowed patterns of these types flooded in upon them so strongly that they could not resist the cultural impulse to turn their geographic stage to a new and strange account? If so, whence did these powerful patterns come? Perhaps the stock exchange pattern came from London. But from what other source could the skyscraper pattern have been borrowed except from heaven (revelation), intuition (natural law), innate ideas, or some fantastic instinctive mutation—unless indeed it grew out of the experience and needs of the people as determined actively by their



geographic environment? To most rational people the latter explanation will, I suppose, appear to be more acceptable. In the case of skyscrapers, the narrowed geographic environment of the island of Manhattan operated relatively directly in producing the cultural mutation. But in the case of commerce, manufacturing, shipping, and the stock exchange, geography operated more remotely and indirectly through such natural channels as the Hudson river, the low transportation level of the Mohawk valley, and the chain of great lakes stretching back into the great agricultural hinterland of the United States, making New York City the natural port and outlet for internal commerce. If the patterns for this commercial behavior came from Europe, they were selected and imported by the geographical opportunity and need. Otherwise, why did they not operate equally at New Haven, Providence, or Boston; or even at Springfield, Ohio, or at High Point, North Carolina? They did not force themselves upon geography. Clearly geography, rather than preëxisting culture patterns, did the active selecting in this case, and in thousands of

other cases. It is an instance of the stage selecting the play.

It appears to be clear from the evidence presented in this section that culture is not, as the radical culture interpretationists claim, a phenomenon *sui generis*, underived from nature. On the other hand, culture is the product of the adjustment of the organism—above all of the flexible human organism—to its environment, which was at first exclusively the natural environment, but has become increasingly the cultural or derivative and social environment. In fact, it is clear that the cultural environment is at first and in its lower forms made directly from the materials of the natural environment, and that its forms are but a continuation and an elaboration of the forms of the natural environment. As the cultural environment accumulates, the succeeding increments of culture, arising as adaptive technique out of the process of the adjustment of the organism to its environment, are decreasingly directly derived from nature and increasingly directly derived from antecedent culture. This increasingly indirect derivation of culture from nature will be the theme of the third section of this paper.

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## TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### THE DOCTRINE OF THE SITUATION AND THE METHOD OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

PAUL W. WARD

PROFESSOR Dewey's general theory of intelligence has become a matter of common knowledge. That consciousness is conditioned by conflict, by a breakdown of existing organic action; that knowledge is the utilization in problematic situations, by means of symbols, of present activities as signs of actions which will, or may, take place; that the differentia of intellectual action is this anticipation of consequences and that the criterion of its excellence is the accuracy of the predictions made and the adequacy of the controls thereby secured—all these are familiar propositions. The purpose of this paper is to comment on the character of Professor Dewey's notion of the *situation* and to point out the significance of this phase of his doctrine, primarily with reference to the social sciences.

#### I

On page 86 of *The Quest for Certainty* there occurs this passage:

"While the traits of experimental inquiry are familiar, so little use has been (made) of them in formulating a theory of knowledge and of mind in relation to nature that a somewhat explicit statement of well known facts is excusable. They exhibit three outstanding characteristics. The first is the obvious one that all experimentation involves *overt* doing, the making of definite changes in the environment or in our relation to it. The second is that experiment is

not a random activity but is directed by ideas which have to meet the conditions set by the need of the problem inducing the active inquiry. The third and concluding feature, in which the other two receive their full measure of meaning, is that the outcome of the directed activity is the construction of a new empirical situation in which objects are differently related to one another, and such that the *consequences* of directed operations form the objects that have the property of being *known*."

This passage is quoted to call attention to the identification of "experimental inquiry" with "directed activity" in an "empirical situation." The situation, for Professor Dewey, is the active predicament in which distinctions come to be made. It is ultimate, in that it is the predicament which it is, and yet ultimately variable, in that no two predicaments are exactly alike. Situations are the stuff of which problems are made.

Let us make a brief analysis of the situation, following Dewey's position as closely as possible. Suppose we look out of the window.<sup>1</sup> The scenery appears as chance arrangements, independent of mind. If we attempt to make it intelligible, then it may seem chaotic; but *as presented* it is merely non-logical, *i.e.*, the parts are not logically connected. Unless some attempted reasoning is introduced, it is

<sup>1</sup> The illustration is Professor Dewey's.

neither orderly nor disorderly. It is just what it is. Perhaps we may see a track with men exercising up and down a race course. The empirical situation, of which this is a sample, is not one of qualities and relations, but of diversified things. Some of the features of the situation are relatively moving; and some are relatively static. This empirical situation never appears in logic; terms and relations appear, but the situation can not. The situation, although characterized and identified by diversified features, is not identified with them. It is vague in extent and has no definite, sharp boundaries. The situation shades off spacially, temporally, and qualitatively into the indefinite. The names and terms of language are explicit, but the situation is tacit; it is unexpressed and unexpressible. We may call it something; but now the situation has become another situation. It is that which is not explicit which gives the meaning to that which is explicit. By qualities we mean explicit diversifications of the situation. If one of the men exercising is interested in beating the others running, and is acting with reference to bringing about that outcome, terms and relations will at once come in. The man ahead and himself will be terms, and the tape another one. The time relation will come in; *there is so much distance to go in such and such a time, to overtake the other man*. The relations of the velocities involved are defined in "time" relations. The velocities are already in the situation, be it noted. Extent and movement are just as much qualities of the empirical situation as any other thing, for example, taste or color. We have noted contrasting possible results; one man or another may win. If differing results are possible, we have to choose the elements upon which the results depend. This breaks the situation into factors, and at once we must have

relations. *What has been left out becomes expressed in relations*. Suppose an outsider comes in and asks what all this is about. We say, "Those students are out there taking exercise." The given scenes are then contrasted with these same men with books, or in some future situation. Space and time relations are used immediately to connect things. What we call relations in thinking are simply those portions of the empirical situation which are ignored, or left out, in breaking up the singleness of the situation. *Space and time relations are the symbols of reference for thinking of the unity and totality of the empirical situation*. Both relations and qualities are picked out to stand for the elements in the situation expressing the possibility of another situation, either prior or subsequent. Extent and movement have been selected because they are fertile for inference and scientific control.

The following passages from *The Quest for Certainty*, will make the doctrine even more explicit:

"We have seen that situations are precarious and perilous because the persistence of life-activity depends upon the influence which present acts have upon future acts. The continuity of a life-process is secured only as acts performed render the environment favorable to subsequent organic acts. The formal generalized statement of this fact is as follows: The occurrence of problematic and unsettled situations is due to the characteristic union of the discrete or individual and the continuous or relational.<sup>2</sup>

Again, a little further on:

"In other words, all experienced objects have a double status. They are individualized, consummatory, whether in the way of enjoyment or of suffering. They are also involved in a continuity of interactions and changes, and hence are causes and potential means of later experiences. Because of this dual capacity they become problematic. Immediately and directly they are just what they are; but as transitions to and possibilities of later experiences they are uncer-

<sup>2</sup> Page 234.



rain. There is a divided response; part of the organic activity is directed to them for what they immediately are, and part to them as transitive means of other experienced objects. We react to them both as finalities and in preparatory ways, and the two reactions do not harmonize. . . . If we state the point in a formal way, it is signified that there is an incompatibility between the traits of an object in its direct individual and unique nature and those traits that belong to it in its relations or continuities. This incompatibility can be removed only by actions which temporally reconstruct what is given and constitute a new object having both individuality and the internal coherence of continuity in a series."<sup>3</sup>

Professor Dewey regards the individuality of specific qualitative diversifications of the situation as primarily esthetic, but these are involved in continuities because of their "transitive" character. This dual character of the diversified things which make up a situation generates the problem and the consequent play of intelligence.

It should be noted that the situation has nothing to do with any idealistic ego-centric predicament. This last is merely a language predicament. Language may be the means of reconstructing a given situation as signs are employed in the reflective recasting of action, but language is not constitutive of the situation. It is rather equipment available in the situation, indicating the substitutability of operational processes. Language is the formulas in which we have funded symbolically the stock of anticipations by way of action, the methods of behavior, which we bring to the situations we confront. When applied to any diversification of a situation words indicate the processes expected or intended. Mind does not make its world as the cinematograph projects a picture. Dewey puts it:

"The old center was mind knowing by means of an equipment of powers complete within itself, and merely exercised upon an antecedent external material equally complete in itself. The new center is indefi-

nite interactions taking place within a course of nature which is not fixed and complete, but which is capable of direction to new and different results through the mediation of intentional operations. Neither self nor world, neither soul nor nature (in the sense of something isolated and finished in its isolation) is the center, any more than either earth or sun is the absolute center of a single universal and necessary frame of reference. There is a moving whole of interacting parts; a center emerges wherever there is effort to change them in a particular direction."<sup>4</sup>

Dewey has called his position critical radical empiricism. It is naïve realism as well, if that be regarded as the taking of things as they are in scientific experiments. Or the term relativistic naturalism might be applied. What's in a name? The character of his doctrine, like the sweetness of the rose, is not affected by a change of name! His viewpoint provides a method of approach which is the epitome of modern scientific procedure. Qualities and relations are explicit diversifications of the situation in which they occur. All qualities are realized there rather than as absolute properties of independent entities (as in the Greek tradition) or as independent and ultimate *per se*. Nature occurs to us in situations as we attempt its direction. Qualities are in relation in the situation in whatever way they are found to be, co-variables functioning on each other, with their relative movements and active possibilities symbolically expressible as statistical correlations. Our discourse is a scaffolding of signs, prospective in character, by means of which one part of the active situation may be effectively brought to bear upon another. By means of it, and other tools, we engineer our way through a world in the making. Our engineering possibilities have as their term only the limitations of organic interaction with the environment; and these may themselves be altered by further engineering.

<sup>3</sup> Page 236.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

## II

What is the significance of such a view, in particular for the social sciences? To have made a philosophy of modern scientific experimentalism is certainly no small achievement, one to which the future historian of philosophy will be obliged to give ample reference. Although it is impossible to give adequate criticism of Dewey's view in so short a time, there are several advantages following from such a position which may be briefly indicated by way of conclusion.

*a.* First, it fairly represents the relativity of our commerce with nature. This very emphasis upon the particular situation has been forced upon the different sciences as the most adequate means of dealing with their problems. The decay of Newtonian absolutes within physics itself, as Bridgeman's work indicates, has focussed attention upon the experimental situation rather than upon supposedly absolute laws. Work in biology, in genetics upon the gene, indicates that hosts of factors are blending rather than that absolute laws are operative. In ethics and the social sciences an emphasis upon the experimental uncertainties in the situation is even more to the point in that the contingencies are more obvious. We cope with an indeterminate nature; the situation is an excellent way of stating that fact.

*b.* Again, the doctrine of the situation calls attention to the fact that the particular predicament is always the real problem. There are no problems in general. To center attention upon the particular problem is to render a service to its practical solution. We are animals caught in specific actual predicaments. Since, on any analysis, we must come back to the particular situation, in which action takes place, why not begin there? Indeed, where else could we begin? We deal with

nature piece-meal; the situation is an excellent way of stating this also.

*c.* One of the chief virtues of the doctrine of the situation is negative in character. Methodologically the emphasis upon the particular predicament does not carry over as a vicious presupposition for subsequent action. Subsequent situations are as experimental as is the present one. It is worth while to dilate upon this point. Supposedly absolute laws, as generalized solutions, do carry over in this fashion. Historically the thought of one age has all too frequently plagued succeeding generations with formulas worse than useless. Technical philosophy has been a great nuisance in this connection, to which fact such disrepute as it has earned among the members of the intellectual class is largely due. Great systems have been constructed upon the immature current science of an age and have been carried on in tradition to befuddle the wits of posterity.

The secret of system-making is out. One takes a favored set of data, treats them as immediately given, and then reduces or produces everything to those terms. A great appearance of necessity, logical or otherwise, can be imparted to the structure by proper window-dressing. It has been done too frequently, however, to be convincing. The system is constructed, of course, in response to some felt need; but that very fact makes it useless to a posterity with different needs.

The emphasis upon a technique which solves problems, whatever they are, is not open to such a criticism. It takes as its "immediate" only the fact of immediacy. By adopting a critical philosophy which is the embodiment of scientific method rather than a dogmatizing from a few isolated and transitory scientific results we shall not only escape the dangers of our own past, but we shall spare posterity a dubious inheritance as well.

All this is particularly relevant to social affairs. During the past century social knowledge appeared, for the most part, in large absolutistic systems. The efflorescence of this type of social thinking was in response to the need which was felt; it was evidence of an awakening interest in social matters coupled with a conscious lack of method. In the absence of an adequate scientific technique, dogmatic thinking was the inevitable result of any attempt to deal with public affairs. The systems of Hegel, Comte, Marx, and Spencer are but samples from a century overrun with social creeds, dogmatic remedies and panaceas. This type of dogmatic system-forming is to be understood as the antecedent of a genuine scientific method in social affairs. Under the protection, so to speak, of such inclusive and pretentious formulas, the real intellectual work of experimental analysis may go on. The days of the usefulness of dogmatic system-making, however, are now definitely ended. The impotence of ponderous antique formulas to cope with the mobile factors which are blending in contemporary society is all too apparent. Indeed, it can be argued that they never were of any real value. It is open to debate whether social and political theories have not done more harm than good. By virtue of the fact we have mentioned, that the formulas invented are passed on to succeeding generations in terms of whose life they have different, often contradictory, implications, such utilities as they have possessed often have been lost. By a kind of tragic delay social philosophies have become the vogue only when their significances have evaporated. The very notions of revolutionary equalitarianism have become the justification for special privilege. To say this is not to condemn social thinking but to point out the social ineptitude of a pre-scientific age. Where the

complexity and mobility of the factors involved are so notable as in social affairs, the supreme danger is doctrinairism. The social faiths, which are still in fashion in some quarters are but compensations for the uncertainties occasioned by ignorance. We do not need faith; we need enlightenment. Men have believed too much and too tenaciously. Enlightenment comes not as the result of a subscription to a social creed, but from a scientific analysis of the factors involved in specific situations. The solutions of problems are always *ad hoc*. Scientific method should enable us to steer our way between mere conservatism and mere radicalism.

Take, for example, the problem of the nation-state, that great Leviathan which, as has been said, has become afflicted with apoplexy at the center and anaemia at the extremities. The social philosophies of the last century would tell us at once what to do with it. Individualisms might say that the government should be reduced in scope, should keep hands off, beyond guaranteeing certain minimum "rights," or the operation of a supposed natural law of social justice *à la* Spencer. The nationalisms of a Fichte, or a Hegel, would dictate other policies. Collectivisms or socialisms, would provide still other programs contradictory to those of the individualisms. But suppose, upon analysis of the situation, it should turn out that we could relieve the apoplectic congestion of the nation-state in two ways, not only by devolving functions and powers upon local government, but also by integrating powers and functions on an international level? Then would we not want *both* individualism within the borders of the nation-state *and* collectivism in the handling of transnational relations? What then becomes of a one-way social philosophy?

Even such a problem is too far removed, too methodological, to give specific guid-



ance in social matters. "Individualism within the borders of the nation state"—what does this mean? Shall water-power sites be the property of private citizens, municipal governments, or nation-states? As we approach concrete detailed action and the need for specific direction becomes more pressing, the futility of antecedent doctrinaire systems becomes more apparent. Previous solutions are useful only by way of furnishing us suggestions by means of which we may engineer ourselves out of our specific predicaments. *Only a detailed analysis of the consequences of alternative courses of action in the specific situation can uncover the best course of action to be taken.* It is the business of experts to provide such analyses rather than to repeat antique formulas, however valuable those formulas may have been in their own historic contexts. In one situation perhaps an individual should own a water-power site; in another a municipality. In a third, the situation might demand a nation-state as owner; in a fourth, an international structure might be called upon to take legal title. Only the consequences experimentally to be reached can determine which

course of action should be pursued in the particular situation. There is no intellectual short-cut by means of which we can avoid the detailed scientific analysis.

The situational emphasis implies that we should keep our methodological processes subordinated to their use, as we would keep tools subordinated to the machines for which they were made. A tool used upon other tools should be even more subordinated—to the uses of the other tools as well as to its own uses. When any tool does more harm than good, we are better off without it. Historically we tend to preserve ox-cart methodologies as long as possible; we try to use them upon airplanes. Thereby many disastrous social consequences are caused.

In making scientific experimentalism into a critical philosophy which deals with events as they unfold in all their indeterminateness, which emphasizes concrete problems and facilitates their solution, and, withal, will not carry over as a tradition into a vicious old age, Professor Dewey has rendered a service of first magnitude to the science of social affairs.

## THE TEACHING OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL ECONOMICS AND THE CONDUCT OF RURAL SOCIAL RESEARCH IN TEACHERS' COLLEGES, SCHOOLS OF RELIGION AND NON-STATE COLLEGES

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER

**E**ARLY in 1930 the Department of Rural Education of Teachers College, Columbia, conducted an investigation into the research activities in the fields of rural sociology and economics of the colleges and universities listed by the Department of Agriculture as having teachers of rural sociology. The inquiry was made in order to assist one of the projects of the Committee on Social and

Economic Research in Agriculture of the Social Science Research Council.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> It had not been intended to publish a report of this brief study but many of those replying to the questionnaire asked for a summary of the findings. It is interesting that nearly one-fifth of those making such a request failed either to sign their names or else to give their addresses. By using postmarks and the directory of teachers furnished by the Department of Agriculture, all but a few of the absent-minded were identified.

questionnaire used was a very simple one. The correspondent was asked to list the courses given in rural sociology and economics, the number of hours of credit for each, and also to describe research projects conducted "under the general supervision of the department or by the department without or with the aid of students," since 1925.

The chief object of the questionnaire was to discover the activities of the smaller institutions though all were circularized.

This emphasis was due to the fact that it did not seem fair to compare the state colleges of agriculture with their liberal appropriations for research under the Purnell Funds with other institutions. Furthermore, because of publication funds the work of the state colleges is well known. All but four of these state institutions offered one or more courses in rural sociology. All of them taught agricultural economics. Most of them had under way research projects in this subject but nearly 20 of the states had failed to use the Purnell Funds for social studies.

Two other classes of institutions were eliminated from the final comparison, namely, the large urban universities like Harvard, Chicago, Leland Stanford, Yale, and state universities that were separate from colleges of agriculture.

With few exceptions the former group was doing very little rural work. The records of the latter varied greatly. Some took almost no interest in rural topics, leaving that field to the state college of agriculture. A few had extensive courses and considerable record of research projects especially the University of North Carolina and the University of Virginia.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Professor E. C. Branson of North Carolina reports that since 1914 his department has published three books, 26 bulletins, and 18 county surveys. Through the Institute for Research in Social Science, sixty-three other county surveys of social and economic conditions were completed but not printed.

#### THE TEACHING OF RURAL SOCIAL SCIENCE

The remaining institutions reporting numbered 215, approximately half of the rest of those listed as teaching rural sociology. These were classified in three groups: Teachers' colleges, schools of religion, i.e., theological seminaries and church colleges giving pre-theological work, and all others.

Of these 32, or 14.8 per cent, had either dropped their offerings in rural sociology or had offered none. Rural sociology, however, is a more popular subject than rural economics in the institutions under consideration for more than three-fourths

TABLE I  
INSTITUTIONS OFFERING COURSES IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY  
AND RURAL ECONOMICS BY TYPE

	TOTAL	OFFERING RURAL SOCIOLOGY		OFFERING RURAL ECONOMICS	
		Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent
All types.....	215	183	85.2	50	23.2
Teachers' colleges.....	69	59	85.5	23	33.3
Schools of religion, etc.....	61	55	90.1	5	8.2
All other.....	85	69	81.2	22	26.0

offered no courses in this latter subject, as Table I shows.

This table shows that there is little difference among the three types of institutions as to the proportion offering rural sociology. The theological seminary group shows scant interest in rural economics though it leads in offering sociology.

Listing a subject in the catalog does not necessarily mean that it has an important place in the curriculum. Forty-three of the teacher training institutions, an equal number of schools of religion and 61 of the other institutions have only one course each. In other words, four out of five of the 215 schools under consideration offer-

ing rural sociology have only one course. A three point course is the most frequent, nearly half being of this type. One course in 10 was but one hour. Two and four hour courses were of about equal frequency, occurring respectively in 16 and 23 places.

The institutions having more than one course in rural sociology offered from 2 to 7, though most of them only two or three, and from four to eighteen hours, the maximum being attained by one school of religion and one teachers' college. The average number of semester hours devoted to rural sociology in those institutions offering courses was 3.0. The schools of religion exceeded this average by half a semester hour, the teachers' college equalled it, the others fell half an hour below it.

In the case of rural economics, the average number of semester hours for each institution offering work in this subject was 3.5 for the entire group but only 3.0 for the teachers' colleges. The other groups slightly exceeded the average.<sup>3</sup>

In the main there was, as would be expected, a correlation between the size of the institution and the number of courses offered. As a rule it was the larger institutions that multiplied courses and hours. It is apparent from the figures given, however, that in the institutions under review neither rural sociology or economics command the full time of many men. In the schools of religion these courses are frequently combined with those in rural church methods.

#### RESEARCH IN RURAL SOCIAL SCIENCE

So much for the teaching of rural social science. The inquiry now turns to the

<sup>3</sup> In three institutions rural sociology and economics were combined in a single course. In these cases the hours were divided between the two subjects.

conduct of research studies. Two out of every five institutions conduct some work along this line. As Table II shows, the teachers' colleges lead in this activity closely followed by the schools of religion.

Most of this research and survey work is undertaken in connection with classes especially in rural sociology but two teachers' colleges and seven schools of religion have courses in survey and research methods.

The studies undertaken cover a wide scope. Eleven teachers' colleges, twelve schools of religion and six other colleges conducted the more or less usual type of social and economic surveys of communities, townships or counties. The teachers' colleges showed a tendency to move from the study of the school and its pupils as such to surveys into the relation of the social and economic environment upon the school and its students. Thus studies were reported on the sociological and economic problems of school attendance, the use of leisure time, trends in population, the intelligence of the rural as compared with the urban population. The research program of one teachers' college included studies of the reading matter in farm homes and rural schools, of the distribution, professional equipment, salary, tenure, and social contribution of rural school teachers in a given area, of the type of advertising in the magazines entering the farm homes of several school districts, and of the status and distribution of the rural churches of a county. Another institution of this type studied rural social distance and the superstitions of prospective rural school teachers. Still another was studying rural taxation and a fourth had adopted the interesting device of requiring students to survey the community to which they were assigned for their practice teaching, an idea that might well be adopted by others.



In addition to church and community studies schools of religion had conducted studies of rural health, rural social work, rural lodges, rural religious education, and the attitudes of rural people.

One such institution had, at the time of this report, 10 students who were making community studies in places in which the churches that they served were located. These surveys included an historical study of the community, maps showing the distributive aspects of community life, statistical data on each family, an analysis of the major social, religious, economic,

and one small institution with less than 150 students has conducted creditable studies in such fields as church and community, changes in retail trade areas and their causes, conditions in rural industrial centers, etc.,<sup>5</sup> which shows what can be done.

The extent to which survey and research is being used in the professional schools of the group under consideration is encouraging and a bit surprising. Unlike the colleges of agriculture most such institutions have no appropriations to cover publication. Thus it is impossible for the outside world to judge of the volume of this work. While the results of many of these studies had been built into the teaching material and while a number had served definite purposes in affecting community or institutional policy none but those immediately concerned have had the benefit of the work. This failure to publish is unfortunate but probably difficult to remedy.

This inquiry shows, however, that the teaching of rural sociology is being increasingly followed by the conduct of social studies, a tendency that is particularly marked in the professional schools. It shows also that such schools are beginning to go beyond the usual type of social surveys of communities and investigate problems. It is to be hoped that this tendency will continue and that ways and means may be found of giving wider circulation to the results.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Moravian College and Theological Seminary, Bethlehem, Pa.

<sup>6</sup> Apart from short summaries in the bulletins of some of the institutions, a few other summaries printed in journals of sociology and three or four bulletins nothing had been printed. A few studies were given local circulation in mimeographed form.

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE OF INSTITUTIONS CONDUCTING RESEARCH

	ALL SCHOOLS CON- DUCTING RESEARCH	TEACHING RURAL SOCIOLOGY AND CON- DUCTING RESEARCH
	<i>per cent</i>	<i>per cent</i>
All types.....	40.5	47.5
Teachers' colleges.....	55.0	64.4
Schools of religion.....	45.9	50.9
All other.....	24.7	30.4

and institutional problems and finally the building of a program.<sup>4</sup>

Two teachers' colleges and two schools of religion coöperated with the colleges of agriculture in their respective states in Purnell studies. This is a plan that might well be extended.

The other institutions included in this survey, as Table II shows, have not done very much in the line of research nor has what they have done been of much originality. The frequent complaint is made that there is "neither time, energy nor money" for such work. On the other

<sup>4</sup> Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois.

## FIELD WORK AND THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY

ERNEST BOULDIN HARPER

THE INCREASING INTEREST IN INDUCTIVE  
METHODS

A STORY that is told of the early days of college teaching in this country may well serve as a text for the following discussion. According to this legend (which is said to be authentic) a certain French professor of botany accepted a post at Transylvania University, in Lexington, Kentucky, and set up the first department of biology west of the Alleghanies. Being of an inductive and concrete type of mind he immediately interested his students in field work which soon became an important, and apparently absorbing part of the course. It was not long before a protest was raised which culminated in the resignation of the professor. The charge which certain of the trustees made was that this new-fangled field work "took the students' minds off their books!"

Sociology as a science has steadily placed itself beyond criticism on the grounds of abstractness and armchair-ness since the publication of Sumner's *Folkways* in 1906. Much of the teaching of sociology, however, is still of the type that would have been thoroughly approved by the trustees of Transylvania in the days of the French botanist. Unfortunately, it would seem, this youngest of the sciences has not yet been weaned from the history, economics, and philosophy departments which nurtured it. Concrete, factual investigations have become the accepted technique in sociological research: the teaching of sociology needs to be speedily imbued with the same spirit. Students in sociology need laboratory, clinical, or field work just as surely as do students in chemistry, physiology, or botany.

There has been a great deal of contempt on the part of sociologists in general for "educational methods," and some of the so-called method certainly merits such censure, but it is a healthy sign that more and more attention is being paid to how to teach as well as what to teach, and more and more interest is manifested in discussions of educational methodology. It is significant that at least two important journals in the field regularly carry articles on this subject. Many problems of method are now claiming our attention: examination and testing techniques, the content of the first course, class-room procedure, the division of large classes into project groups, the function of the "term paper," and the discovery of an equivalent for the laboratory are among the major problems. This discussion is concerned with the last named only, i.e., the exploitation of field work as a substitute for the laboratory of the physicists and chemists, and perhaps the most satisfactory, proper, and feasible means by which the student may obtain first-hand, inductive, concrete social experience.

The opportunities for field work in connection with sociology courses in the average sized city are numerous. Trained direction and coöperation may be had in connection with such corrective and protective agencies as the visiting teacher in the public schools, the truant officer, probation officers, women police, and the sheriff's department, with such relief organizations as family and child welfare agencies and the Childrens' Aid Society, and with such health agencies as the city and county departments, the Red Cross, pre-natal, infant, and pre-school nutrition clinics, and the Anti-TB Society. The presence of a state hospital for the insane,

or any hospital equipped with a social service department, or of a mental hygiene clinic offers opportunities of a still different sort. The local "chest" and council of social agencies constitute field work possibilities in the realm of charity organization. If a nursery school exists in the community another valuable field is opened up for a few students at least. The welfare and personnel departments of local industries offer a ready approach to the personal and social problems of industry. In addition, the city, itself, with its communities, institutions, and organizations presents a fertile field for study and investigation without any supervision except, of course, that of the instructor.

#### GRADING FIELD WORK BY CLASSES

This paper is concerned especially with field work as a teaching method in sociology classes of the small undergraduate college. All of the above agencies and organizations are, or have been utilized by the writer in connection with his classes in a college of four hundred students located in an industrial city of sixty thousand population. A definite attempt has been made to grade the work at three levels: first, that for the introductory courses; second, for the more advanced and specialized courses open to juniors and seniors; and, finally, for the pre-vocational subjects, leading to graduate or professional work in law, medicine, education, the ministry, or social work.

Three introductory, one semester courses are regularly given. The first course consists of a general survey of sociological concepts and processes and is prerequisite to all other courses. Field work in this course consists of "field work problems," based upon previous personal experiences, present observations, and an occasional field trip taken by the class as a whole. In addition, each student prepares a

semester paper based upon first-hand observation and simple investigation.

The second course, designated "Social Psychology," usually enrolls from forty to fifty students. These are divided into "groups," or "committees," each with its own elected and approved chairman. The "field work problems" of the first semester's course are continued, but the more important work is done by the various groups acting as units. Each member of the group receives the same grade on the group project. After a preparatory period of reading in connection with the problem or "investigation," the group, under the direction of the chairman and the instructor, begins its field work. The aim is creation of interest in social phenomena, and training of a very simple kind in methods of investigation. After a plan has been agreed upon special phases of the investigation are assigned each member, one usually acting as director, and another as editor, and frequent conferences are held. Each group is instructed to prepare a final, well-organized report of such a length that it may be presented in a single class period with sufficient time for discussion. Material on the survey, interviewing, questionnaires, and other methods are placed in the hands of the chairman, and maps and such aids are suggested where their use would be helpful. The distinction between "sociological" and the merely "social" is insisted upon, and each group is urged to apply the concepts developed inductively by class discussion of the concrete material presented in the "field work problems!"

Problems of diverse nature have been studied in this fashion. Typical, perhaps are the following: "surveys" of particularly interesting settlements or communities, or of a parish where a definite parochial problem exists, analytic studies of the women's clubs of the city, of noon



luncheon clubs, school clubs, and the like. Other investigations have been made of the health, relief, and correctional work of the city. Propaganda, the Klan, and the Youth Movement, all in reference to local situations and institutions, are additional examples. All investigation reports become the property of the department, are catalogued and filed for future student use in the instructor's office. It will be seen, therefore, that the field work of these introductory classes, (and the same is true of the third course, Social Pathology) is limited to observation, and consists both of recalled and contemporary experiences. Furthermore, some little practice in simple methods of investigation is obtained.

Field work proper starts with the second year of sociology in classes open to juniors and seniors. It is an integral part of such a course as "The Family," for example. In this course, the student is required to spend a minimum of some thirty hours in the field during the semester. He frequently exceeds this amount and rarely falls below it.

Usually the field work in this course is done in connection with the local family welfare society (Civic Improvement League). There are ordinarily only fifteen to eighteen students in this class and all have had at least two courses in sociology. At the opening of the semester the class reports to the Secretary of the agency and is given a preliminary talk in which the general nature of the work is described. They are also instructed in the use of the case record files, the social service exchange, and the office equipment. The next step consists in reading selected case records. Each student is expected to read a number of such records at the office of the agency where questions may be raised with the worker responsible for the particular case. Efforts are now being made to improve the records so as to increase their value for teaching purposes.

After the student has thus familiarized himself or herself with the nature of a family record he reports to the particular worker to whom he has been assigned for supervision. There are three case workers in addition to the executive secretary and the office assistant attached to this particular agency. Each worker directs the field work of from three to five students. For approximately one month the student merely accompanies the worker on her trips, noting and asking questions about the various types of family situations encountered.

During the last month of the semester the student is assigned a family of her own, usually one involving a very simple problem. She then works under the direction of her supervisor, reporting after each visit just what she had planned to accomplish, what she actually did, and what she plans for the next trip. This report is made in triplicate, the student keeps one copy, files one at the agency, and submits the third to the instructor. In addition, the student keeps a note book.

The aim of this experience is not to teach the student methods of case work, but rather to give him the opportunity to observe typical family situations from a fairly advantageous position and under the guidance of a trained observer. The material he collects is used in class reports and papers and aids him in the interpretation of the problems of the modern family. In addition, he prepares one detailed case-study in conformity with the outline developed by the department. He submits his study for criticism and revision before the final writing to both the instructor and the supervisor. In its final form one copy is given to the agency, while the original is filed in the office of the department which has thus over a number of years accumulated a considerable collection of such cases in connection with

which follow-up studies are made by students in succeeding classes.

This scheme of coöperation between the sociology department of the college and the local agency is mutually advantageous. On the one hand the student contributes his time and services, and the instructor serves on the board of directors and the case committee of the agency; on the other hand the society's secretary and workers give their interest and supervision. One of the reasons the plan works so smoothly is found in the fact that there are now two former students regularly employed on the staff of the agency.

An additional opportunity for field work in this course is offered two or three students each semester in connection with the local nursery school. Usually these are students who are taking, or planning to take kindergarten or pre-school training. For their sociology field work they study the problems presented by the child in so far as these reflect family and home situations. Public school pupils' families are also studied through the office of the local visiting teacher and a number of students work regularly under her direction.

In the third group of sociology courses more advanced field work is attempted. Such courses as "Crime," "Introduction to Social Work," "Child Welfare," and "Methods of Investigation" are included in this category. The first two are offered each year and the other two in alternate years. No regular schedule of field work has been devised for the two latter courses, the nature and amount done depending upon the interests, needs, and time of the small group of students who elect them, and being adapted to their individual requirements.

Students who elect the course in crime are seniors and usually will have had three preceding courses in sociology, including the one on the family. As the curriculum

is now organized they will also have had "Introduction to Social Work." They are expected to do at least thirty hours of field work during the semester under the direction of the probation officer of the local juvenile court, the visiting teacher, the truant officer, the policewoman, or the sheriff. The work is similar to that required in the course on the family, and they are likewise expected to turn in to the department at least one complete, detailed case-study of a delinquency or conduct problem. As the class work is organized on a clinical basis, considerable time being given to case analysis, the field work reinforces that of the class in a very desirable way. A certain amount of observation of jails, prisons, and other institutions is also done by this class, or sections of it. One group, for example, inspected and reported on all the county jails in the southwest portion of the state.

The largest amount of field work is required in the "Introduction to Social Work." Term papers and other traditional devices are omitted the additional field work being substituted. From fifty-five to sixty hours are expected during the semester. More than a month is devoted to case work, and the balance of the time to other types of social work. The student chooses the kind of work he wishes to do, group, institutional or case work, and confines himself to that. In the latter case, since he will already have had some experience in case work, he is permitted to work with more specialized agencies, such as the social service department of the local state hospital for the insane, the visiting teacher, and the mental hygiene clinic, all of which coöperate in a very splendid way. In contrast with the work of the other courses, the aim here is definitely to give the student some insight into methods and techniques which would serve as a valuable introduction to the professional

courses of the graduate school of social work, or of the other professions.

#### SUMMARY OF AIMS AND RESULTS

By way of conclusion, some of the aims and results of this plan of correlating field work with sociology courses will be summarized:

1. A definite attempt is made to *grade* the work. Beginning students are given opportunities for *observation* only; intermediate classes *participate* in the work of an agency and thus come into immediate contact with family and delinquency situations ("Crime" is sometimes included in this group); advanced students *acquire skills* and develop technique on a pre-vocational plane.

2. The cordial coöperation of all the various agencies concerned has made the scheme possible. The attempt has been made to make the arrangement mutually beneficial, but undoubtedly the sociology department profits more than do the coöperating organizations. The aim is to gradually build up more such contacts thus increasing the number of opportunities for field work.

3. Results have been of such a nature as to seem to justify the plan. According to the testimony of the

students themselves the field work is the more valuable part of their course: certainly it is the most interesting.

4. Field work helps to "sell" sociology to the beginner—obviously one of the major objectives of the first course. Interest is thus aroused in further courses.

5. Concrete data are secured, which aid greatly not only in class discussion and in the building up of generalizations, but also in the interpretation of the published materials, which come to assume a new significance for the student who has observed similar phenomena at first hand.

6. For the student who contemplates social work as a profession, interest in entering a graduate school is aroused, and in addition, many valuable professional contacts are made.

7. Finally, supervised field work carried on in connection with the study of sociology would seem to be one possible answer to those critics among the social workers who have maintained that sociology as they knew it has been of little or no value to them in their professional career. Not only will field work, in the opinion of the writer, make sociology more valuable to the future student of social work, but it will also make this subject more significant for the man or woman who later enters law, medicine, education, or the ministry.

#### FELLOWSHIPS AWARDED FOR 1930-31

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL has announced the following awards: twenty-six fellowships in the social sciences, thirty-six grants-in-aid, twenty-seven southern fellowships in the social sciences, twenty-four fellowships in agricultural economics and rural sociology.

THE JOHN SIMON GUGGENHEIM MEMORIAL FOUNDATION has appointed eighty-four fellows. THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION announces twenty-two Franco-American Scholarship awards and nine American Field Service Fellowship awards. THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF AWARD has announced the appointment of thirty-three students from British and Colonial universities and the British Colonial Service to Commonwealth Fund Fellowships.



## PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### COSTS OF SOCIAL SERVICE

HAROLD A. PHELPS AND EDITH M. BAKER

TWO questions frequently asked concerning social work are: How much can a community afford for its extension? How do the costs of private benevolences and poor relief compare with the expenditures for other community activities?

Previous discussions of these questions have made both general and specific approaches. The former approach is inclined to deal philosophically with social work and its goals with little or no reference to the actual experiences of different communities. By way of contrast an increasing number of studies have been added recently to the literature of social work. They show concretely the expenditures of specialized social agencies or of various communities for social work as a whole and the trend of these expenditures over a period of years.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> General examinations: L. Purdy, J. Addams, "How Much Social Work Can a Community Afford?" Nat'l. Conf. of Social Work, 1926, pp. 100-113. Proctor and Schuck, *The Financing of Social Work* (1926). E. T. Devine, *Social Work* (1922), Chs. 16-17. W. J. Norton, "Financing Social Work," Nat'l. Conf. of Social Work, 1924, pp. 530-533.

Specific studies: R. F. Clapp, "Relief in Nineteen Cities." *The Survey*, LVII, 209-210. J. B. Dawson, "Significance of the Rise of Relief-Giving during the Past Five Years," Nat'l. Conf. of Social Work, 1922, pp. 228-236. S. Lowenstein, "Charity as Usual."

By all odds the latter approach is most effectively illustrated by the New Haven study, made by the National Bureau of Economic Research.<sup>2</sup> This investigation represents a fairly complete analysis of the expenditures for social work in one city from 1900 to 1925. It summarizes the quality and relative accuracy of its data, the different classes of social agencies, and the trends in their expenditures. Social work is divided by this report into four categories: (1) religious work; (2) health; (3) poor-relief; (4) miscellaneous forms, such as educational and character-building agencies. And the relative importance of social work under Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish auspices is contrasted.

For comparative purposes with any other community the following conclusions are made:

1. Since 1900 the expenditures for social work have increased greatly, even when allowance is made for changes in

*The Survey*, LXIII, 327-328. F. W. Ramsey, "Why So Much for Charity?" *The Cleveland*, July, 1926, p. 7. R. C. White, "Trend of Public Charities and Corrections in Indiana," *Indiana Bulletin of Charities and Corrections*, Jan. 1930, pp. 6-14. Note also the several articles by R. G. Hurlin and M. B. Hexter.

<sup>2</sup> W. I. King, "Trends in Philanthropy." *Research Report*, No. 12 (1928), pp. 41, 47, 74-76.

population and in the purchasing power of money.

2. These expenditures are not concentrated under the control of a few large agencies.

3. Of the different classes of social agencies, religious work has declined proportionately to the others; health work has grown; poor-relief has remained practically constant; and miscellaneous forms, especially the character-building agency, have absorbed an increasing percentage of private benevolence.

Two hypotheses underlie the following report upon the costs of social service in Providence. The first is that any discussion of trends in the field of social work, especially when expenditures are taken as an index of trend, only becomes intelligible when the trend for social work as a whole is compared with the trends in other forms of group service. The second and subordinate hypothesis is substantially that underlying the New Haven study: growth or trends of specific agencies, such as poor-relief agencies, gain significance only by contrasts with the trends in other social service agencies or with the general trends of other social services, ordinarily considered outside the field of social work. In view of the debatable movement of poor-relief costs and the uses to which they are put in the explanation of several phenomena connected with the problem of poverty, the first step in an analysis of trends in social work should consist of a general comparison between social work and other social services.

#### THE PROVIDENCE STUDY: SCOPE AND COMPLETENESS

In the tables and figures which follow the expenditures for private social work are compared with public expenditures for education, recreation, poor-relief, and with the combined public and private ex-

penditures for hospitals. The sources of information in each of the latter are published, annual reports of the various agencies, total expenditures being used as defined by the New Haven study.<sup>3</sup> To a certain extent each of these four public series is a sample. Although the community spends more for education, health, recreation, and poor-relief than is shown by the following amounts, they probably have a high degree of accuracy as indexes of trend.

The relative completeness of the annual expenditures for private social work is indicated in part by Table I, items 1, 4, and 5. A brief description of this table and of the probable total expenditure for private social work in Providence will demonstrate the adequacy of this sample. The trend in the costs of private social work is made up of all the Jewish agencies, 13 of the 14 Protestant agencies, 21 of the 34 secular agencies, and 3 of the 6 Federations, covering a total of 43 or 60.0 per cent of the total number of private agencies. Omissions were made for the following reasons: (1) agencies covering a wider area than Providence without keeping local accounts. For this reason the 12 Catholic agencies and 4 secular agencies, operating upon a statewide basis, were excluded. (2) Agencies with incomplete records account for the remaining 13 organizations not included in this survey. The total expenditure controlled by these 43 private agencies in 1928 was \$1,260,891. During this year the Providence Community Fund expended through its 36 member agencies \$886,527, and the amounts expended by the agencies not included in this study were \$162,627 by Catholic agencies and about \$64,000 by the others, a total of \$226,627. Consequently, since the 1928 figure exceeds by a considerable margin the Community Fund expenditure and fails to include ap-

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 26.

proximately 15.0 per cent of an estimated total of \$1,487,518, the index of private social work expenditures is considered a fairly accurate and complete sample, as the following summary demonstrates:

	AGENCIES		EXPENDITURES	
	Number	Per cent	Amount	Per cent
Private agencies included.....	43	60.0	\$1,260,891	85.0
Private agencies excluded.....	29	40.0	226,627*	15.0
Total.....	72	100.0	\$1,487,518*	100.0

\* Estimated

#### TRENDS IN THE COSTS OF SOCIAL SERVICE

The relative expenditures for each of these five classes of social service are indicated in Figure 1 and Table III.

TABLE I  
TYPES OF SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES, PROVIDENCE,  
R. I.

CLASSES OF AGENCIES	TOTAL NUMBER*	NUMBER INCLUDED
1. Religious.....	32	19
Catholic.....	12	0
Jewish.....	6	6
Protestant.....	14	13
2. Public.....	5	5
3. Hospitals.....	7	7
4. Private secular.....	34	21
5. Funds or Federations.....	6	3
Total.....	84	55

\* Source: H. S. Bucklin, "Directory of Providence Social Work Agencies." (Prov. Feb. 1929.)

Figure 1 shows the per capita costs of each for a period of 29 years. These costs are charted on a semi-logarithmic scale in order to show relative rates of change. In this figure there are two marked contrasts. Expenditures in the case of education, hospitals, and private social work are increas-

ing; expenditures for recreation and poor-relief show no comparable tendencies. The expenditures, made by agencies under the control of the Community Fund (organized in 1926) are given from 1925-1928, merely to re-emphasize the adequacy of the sample in the index for private social work. It is a customary procedure to perform another operation in order to indicate trends of this type, namely, to deflate the expenditures by some standard index of the price of consumers' goods. Since at this point we are only interested in the general direction of expenditures, the present index is probably more useful than an abstract index of expenditures in terms of the changing value of money.

Table II presents total expenditures and their relative proportions for selected and representative years.

These proportions are given for alternate years and for each class of social service in Table III. This table shows more realistically the trend in the community's expenditures. During the entire period the costs of public education absorbed a slightly decreasing proportion of the total. This is also true of expenditures for public poor-relief. Recreation shows no consistent tendency, though after 1914 there is a fairly general downward trend. Expenditures for hospitals also fluctuate, but for the entire period have remained fairly constant. The only series showing a fairly consistent expansion is the proportion expended by private social agencies. This conclusion is confirmed by the general trend indicated by the per-capita expenditures in Figure 1. It suggests the growing dependence of schools, hospitals, and other public and private social resources upon the modern services of social work.

Another development in connection with the trend of private agencies is worth mentioning because it was also noted in the New Haven study. When the consti-



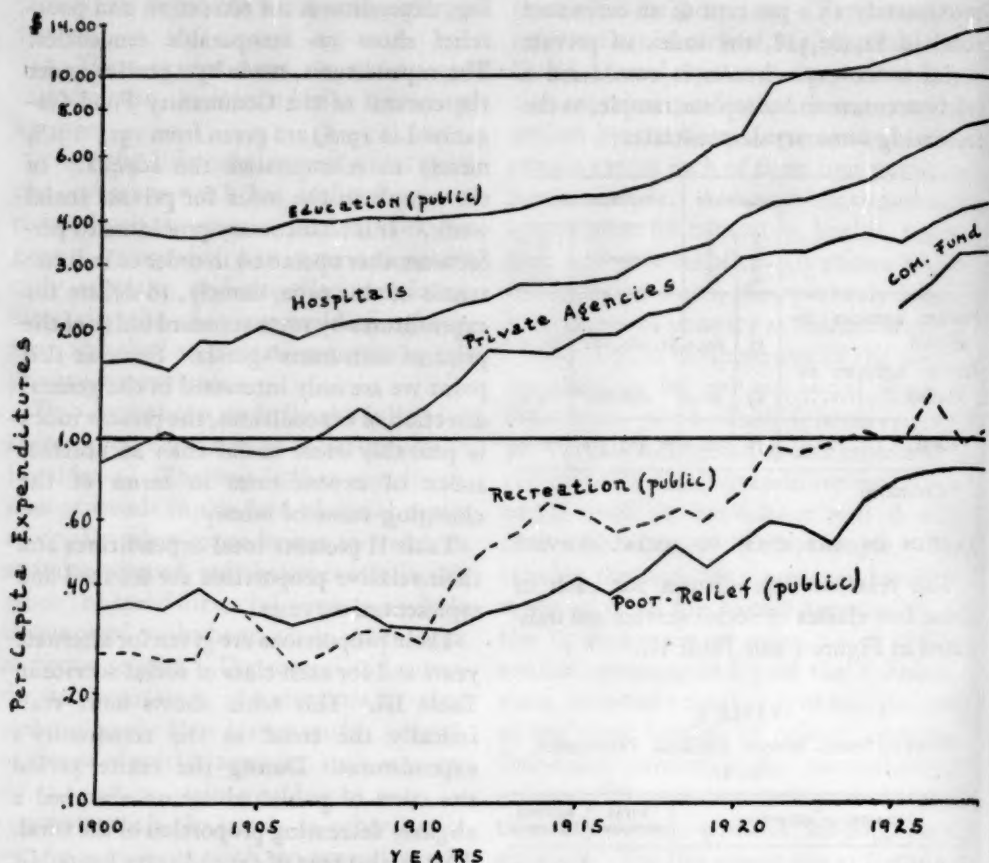


FIG. 1. PER CAPITA COSTS OF SOCIAL SERVICES, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

TABLE II  
AMOUNT AND RELATIVE EXPENDITURES FOR SOCIAL SERVICES

	1900		1920		1928	
	Amount*	Per cent	Amount*	Per cent	Amount*	Per cent
Poor Relief.....	\$60,068	4.9	\$128,525	3.2	\$225,992	2.9
Private Agencies.....	152,749	12.6	808,741	20.4	1,260,891	16.4†
Hospitals.....	291,488	24.0	1,044,779	26.3	2,057,823	26.8
Education.....	664,247	54.7	1,804,093	45.4	3,842,181	50.1
Recreation.....	46,390	3.8	186,289	4.7	288,130	3.8

\* Cents omitted.

† The chief relief agency (the family welfare society) expended 1.0 per cent of this total.

uent agencies in the private group are classified and their trends are compared, it is shown that the relative importance of

Protestant religious agencies is declining; Jewish agencies are increasing gradually, though they constitute only a small pro-

portion of the total. The most significant increase is being made by agencies under secular control. These conclusions are substantially in agreement with the trends found in New Haven, although the omission of Catholic agencies at this point becomes a serious obstacle to the discovery of actual developments. They prophesy roughly at least that the bulk of future social work will be increasingly under the auspices of private, secular agencies, the district nursing association, family welfare

tant because it is confusing. On the one hand gross expenditures by social work are identified with expenditures for poor-relief. On the other hand the many problems, now recognized as the responsibility of social work, are forced under a major caption, such as poverty, and many unfortunate and inaccurate inferences are made. This becomes increasingly true when public opinion is directed toward some problem of the moment and all available records (including the records of the many different varieties of social service) are examined to prove or disprove something about di-

TABLE III  
PROPORTIONAL EXPENDITURES FOR EACH CLASS OF  
SOCIAL SERVICE

YEARS	EDUCATION (PUBLIC)	HOSPITALS	PRIVATE AGENCIES	POOR RELIEF (PUBLIC)	RECREATION (PUBLIC)
1900	54.7	24.0	12.6	4.9	3.8
1902	53.3	23.0	15.1	4.9	3.7
1904	52.1	25.5	12.7	4.7	5.0
1906	54.1	25.6	12.8	4.2	3.3
1908	50.3	26.6	15.0	4.4	3.7
1910	51.1	26.6	15.1	3.7	3.5
1912	45.7	26.3	19.2	3.5	5.3
1914	46.1	26.3	17.2	3.7	6.7
1916	45.7	26.2	19.1	3.7	5.3
1918	45.1	26.6	18.8	4.2	5.3
1920	45.4	26.3	20.4	3.2	4.7
1922	52.0	23.4	16.9	3.0	4.7
1924	49.7	24.7	17.4	3.3	4.9
1926	50.1	26.1	15.4	3.2	5.2
1928	50.1	26.8	16.4	2.9	3.8

society, health agencies and clinics, child-placing agencies, day nurseries, and settlements—to name a few of the divisions which form a large part of this class.

#### POOR-RELIEF TRENDS

One question that has consumed an unusual amount of attention in the history of social work is the significance of poor-relief among families requiring community assistance. Lately, and especially since 1920, this question has been revived and reviewed from many angles. It is impor-

TABLE IV  
RATES OF FAMILIES ASSISTED PER 1,000 POPULATION

YEARS	FAMILY WELFARE	DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AID
1900	1.3	44.5
1905	1.6	45.6
1910	6.9	38.3
1915	10.9	66.0
1920	3.8	12.4
1921	5.6	24.0
1922	5.2	23.8
1923	3.7	10.8
1924	3.6	19.4
1925	5.6	14.8
1926	5.4	17.4
1927	8.3	15.8
1928	6.6	22.2

voice, prohibition, unemployment, the increasing or decreasing size of American families, feeble-mindedness, child labor, women in industry, and related problems.

In general, charity, social work, and poor-relief are still used synonymously. Though no especial mention has been made in this analysis of the agencies which are summarized under the caption private social agencies, it should be noted that with few exceptions they are concerned with separate and discrete problems, rendering under private auspices community services which vary as widely as education, health, recreation, or poor-relief. Be-

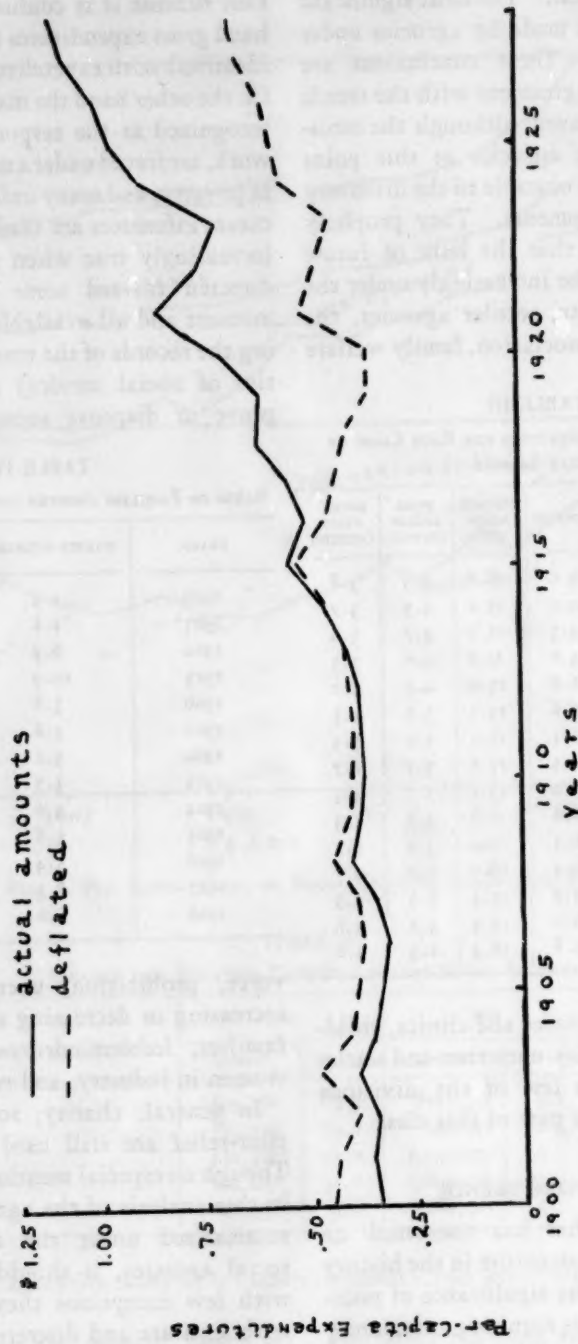


FIG. 2. POOR RELIEF TRENDS, PROVIDENCE, R. I.



cause there are many different opinions about the problems of social work and of the rôle of poor-relief within the field of social work, it is highly desirable that practicing social workers should possess concrete material relating both to the variety and scope of their problems and to the significance of poverty among the families or persons being assisted. On this aspect of social work the following data are pertinent.

Of the foregoing material relating to the costs of social service, the expenditures by the public for poor-relief and by the Family Welfare Society (which is by no means entirely devoted to poor-relief) ought to furnish a fairly reliable estimate both of the trends in poor-relief expenditures and of the relative trend of poverty in a modern urban population. We have already noted that public expenditures on a per capita basis are not increasing rapidly and in proportion to other expenditures are decreasing. Since 1915 in the records of both the Department of Public Welfare and of the Family Welfare Society, the number of families applying for aid has decreased in proportion to the total population, as the rates of families assisted per 1,000 population indicate (see Table IV).

Naturally this decrease shows important variations, especially in years of business depression, or due to the undeveloped resources of the agency under examination during the early years of its existence. Any year of exceptional increase, when considered apart from the general trend, might indicate a vast growth of poverty-stricken families and unemployable persons. Recent accounts of poor-relief expenditures, particularly when they are used to illustrate the seriousness of some other problem, overlook this trend frequently and stress developments during the last few years. Throughout the last decade expenditures by many poor-relief

agencies, both public and private, have increased. This fact is shown by the combined expenditures of public relief and of the Family Welfare Society in Providence—the full line in Figure 2.

The following comment resembles frequent reactions to this increasing expenditure. On the general subject of unemployment and of the increasing number of unemployable persons, Dr. Leiserson has written: "This (increasing unemployment) is probably the explanation of the growing demands on charitable agencies and the increasing relief expenditures which have become a marked characteristic of our prosperity. Social workers have wondered at this development, and have been inclined to ascribe it to more liberal amounts of relief given to individual families. But the available figures seem to show rather that the amount of relief per family has hardly risen since 1923. What seems to have happened is that the number of families receiving relief has been increasing faster than both population and the cost of living."<sup>4</sup>

This excerpt and its inference lead to conclusions concerning the function and significance of modern social work which are not endorsed by the philosophy of social work and from the experience of Providence are not entirely in harmony with the facts. In Providence the poor-relief cases handled by the organizations represented in Figure 2 far outnumber and generally overlap other relief-giving agencies. We may consider the trends in this figure as a pretty accurate picture of poverty. It has been shown already that poor-relief is a minor item in contrast to other social services, either public or private. In addition to the fact that the number of families or persons applying to these agencies has decreased during the last

<sup>4</sup> "Unemployment, 1929." *The Survey*, LXII, 10.

fifteen years in proportion to the total population, Figure 2 also shows that the per capita expenditures when deflated do not present a phenomenal increase (especially when this increase is compared with expenditures for health or education<sup>6</sup>). On the basis of this evidence we may conclude that poverty is not increasing either absolutely in the number of people in poverty or in its relative costs to the community in any degree to arouse serious concern.

more families are receiving a smaller proportion of the money expended directly or indirectly for aid.

In Table V the amount of relief per family is given for the two agencies considered previously and shows the general tendency from 1900. According to the experience of both agencies, 1923 was the high year in proportion of relief per family. But comparisons between any one year and later tendencies are inclined to lead to erroneous conclusions. Sum-

TABLE V  
EXPENDITURES FOR POOR RELIEF PER FAMILY

YEARS	FAMILY WELFARE SOCIETY			PUBLIC WELFARE		
	Number of cases	Total expenditures	Relief per case	Number of cases	Total expenditures	Relief per case
1900	226	\$1,982.22	\$8.77	7,817	\$20,370.21	\$2.61
1905	313	1,820.00	5.81	9,058	18,935.79	2.09
1910	1,592	18,432.23	11.58	8,627	19,663.02	2.28
1915	2,722	33,437.79	12.28	16,446	29,779.58	1.81
1920	1,450	56,586.47	39.02	3,202	33,612.92	10.50
1921	1,353	70,243.38	51.92	6,253	72,955.85	11.67
1922	986	49,539.06	50.24	6,250	67,020.34	10.72
1923	963	53,333.64	55.38	2,866	50,625.38*	17.66
1924	1,504	55,333.64	36.79	5,175	42,263.46	8.17
1925	1,458	53,862.38	36.94	3,976	50,441.22	12.69
1926	1,109	58,750.77	52.98	4,702	54,426.11	11.58
1927	2,258	70,183.65	31.08	4,298	61,005.44	14.19
1928	1,872	78,456.06	41.91	6,078	62,056.26	10.21

\* Expenditures for Mother's Aid are excluded.

Sources: Annual Reports, Providence Family Welfare Society; Annual Reports, Providence Department of Public Aid.

One further point of interest in a discussion of poor-relief costs or trends is the amount of relief given per case or family. This is an unfortunate and improbable comparison from the point of view of the trained social worker, because families represent different problems and are treated differently both in public and private agencies. It is stated here simply to indicate the accuracy of the supposition that

marizing the data of Table 4, supplemented by foregoing materials, we know that over the entire period the proportion of the entire population in dependency is decreasing and that the amount of relief per case is increasing. Annual fluctuations cannot be explained by a simple cause or by any one problem. It is more likely that the variations, either secular trend or annual variations, are the results of complex, interacting factors which are as yet relatively unexplored.

<sup>6</sup> Deflation index in Figure 2 is the index of prices of consumers' goods, National Bureau of Economic Research.

## CONCLUSIONS

The following general conclusions summarize the foregoing comparisons:

1. Since 1900 private social work has been extended in greater proportions than any other form of social service.

2. This increase is not phenomenal, but represents a fairly steady growth. It can be accounted for in part by the relatively undeveloped condition of private social agencies at the beginning of the century and in part by the requirements for supplementary social service made necessary by the extension of health, educational, recreational, character-building and more specialized forms of social service, such as legal-aid, mental clinics, boys' and girls' clubs, and analogous developments.

3. Poor-relief does not figure prominently in modern social work. This is shown by its relative decrease in comparison with other social services and by the extensive growth of non-relief giving agencies. These conclusions correspond identically with the New Haven Study.

4. Concerning the original questions raised in this study we may assume that the relative proportions assigned to education (50.1 per cent), hospitals (26.8 per

cent), private social work (16.4 per cent), recreation (3.8 per cent), poor-relief (2.9 per cent) in 1928 (see Table II) are fairly precise indications of what a community can afford. With respect to poor-relief, apart from other social work expenditures, using family welfare figures as an index of private relief work and the total percentage of public poor-relief, a total proportional expenditure of 3.9 per cent is given. The proportionate decrease in poor-relief is more than counterbalanced by the steady expansion of other social work activities under private auspices both in expenditures and in the number and variety of these agencies.

This is about as reliable, quantitative evidence as it is possible to produce from local records of the degree to which remedial social work is being supplemented and displaced by rehabilitative and preventive community services. While it shows the persistency of dependency, at the same time it leads rather definitely to the assumption that other than economic factors are waiting for the social worker's analysis and treatment.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Note in this connection the stimulating report upon *Some Aspects of Relief in Family Casework* by Grace F. Marcus (1929), especially pp. 51-59.

## SEGMENTED ORGANIZATION

J. BLAINE GWIN

WE HAVE a troublesome condition of juvenile delinquency in Posey-dunk," said the mayor to me one day after I had been telling him something of modern social work methods. Posey-dunk is a town of 15,000 in an eastern State. "Gangs of boys," he said, "run the streets at night and there is drinking, immorality, and stealing so that the courts are crowded with young offenders. What organiza-

tion should I call in to study the situation and develop a remedy?"

What organization would you have suggested? The Boy Scouts? The Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations? The National Probation Association? The Playground Association? The Girl Scouts or Campfire Girls? The Family Welfare Association? Or perhaps some of the others? Some of these would



see the need for probation officers or more general case workers but others would wish to have organized recreation and a better use of leisure time or a building with religious, social, and recreational activities. Some would make an individual or case work approach to the problem and others a group approach. All of these organizations would quite likely recognize that the problem had many aspects, that it was due to many causes, that it had roots which went down to the very foundations of the community itself but none of them is prepared to put into effect a program which would attack all phases of the problem in a comprehensive manner.

Suppose the mayor had told me of a serious health situation in Poseydunk with an appalling death rate. What organization or public department would you recommend as staffed and organized to adequately assist Poseydunk in bringing about the desired improvement in health conditions? The State Department of Health? The American Red Cross? The National Tuberculosis Association? The American Heart Association? The American Society for the Control of Cancer? The National Health Council? The American Public Health Association, or some of the other public or private agencies? Some of these are organized to assist local groups in providing Public Health Nurses, nutritionists, health officers, sanitary inspectors, health education, clinics, hospitals, and sanitariums. Some would attack the problem on a group or community basis and others on an individual or case work basis; some have a highly specialized and some a more general program.

These groups, however, like those I first listed, are organized and staffed—with possibly one or two exceptions—to meet a segment of the situation. Most of them are segmented organizations. If called

upon they would see the need for a local group representing their own organization or their own particular type of activities. It would take a combination of the programs of both public and private agencies to adequately meet the health and delinquency situation in Poseydunk. And yet Poseydunk has neither the finances nor the leadership to support and direct the work of all these agencies; in fact, the town could support only a few of them. If these were all organized and active locally there would still be no comprehensive attack on these or other problems for this would still give, to a considerable degree, unrelated programs, in part at least, unadapted to meet this particular situation.

The machinery for fact-finding or the making of community surveys has developed far in advance of the machinery for community organization work. Some of the organizations already mentioned, several of the Foundations, and some purely commercial organizations and departments of the Federal Government are prepared to make community studies. The American Public Health Association has made some very complete studies of health situations through its Committee on Administrative Practice. This committee has a membership made up of representatives from both the public and private agencies.

These organizations, with a few exceptions, not only have segmented programs but they are segmented, fragmentary, specialized organizations. Their local groups are planned and officered to give direction to a specialized activity or specialized activities. They are not—considering the group as a whole—community organizations, and it is not their plan to approach community needs like those in Poseydunk from a community organization viewpoint.

A community organization, while it

may represent only one section of a community, should be, in most respects, a cross-section and have leadership which represents the community or a cross-section of it, and not a specialized group or a group with specialized interests. A community organization will have roots in the social and economic life of the community and will be local although it may at the same time have national or world-wide interests and affiliations.

The private organizations which have locals are interested primarily in establishing local units supported from private contributions. The public departments urge activities supported from taxation and, like the private groups, they are in most instances, concerned with the establishment of local units modeled after other local units in the same state—a health department or a county health unit or a local welfare department with a public welfare officer.

Each of these groups and others I have not mentioned, is prepared to adapt its program or programs to meet situations involving large or small cities, rural or urban populations, native or foreign-born, etc. But the adaptations are made mostly by adding or subtracting this or that activity or phase of work rather than by modifying the fundamental nature of their approach to the problem. Some few organizations have more nearly approached the development of local community organizations; perhaps because their programs are less special, more general, and flexible.

Specialization and a separate approach to community needs have advanced social and health work in America by leaps and bounds during the past thirty years. New methods and techniques have been developed, improved and tested under a great variety of conditions. The organizations using these improved methods and tech-

niques have grown stronger and have increased in numbers. Many of these are national or state organizations or have national or state affiliations. Aggressive national and state organizations, both public and private, have greatly increased the interest in modern social and health work as well as the number of local units or organizations with social and health programs. This diverse approach to community problems by organizations with different backgrounds, each using and giving experience to local and national leadership, has undoubtedly been of great value in a country little hampered by traditional concepts and habits, especially for this kind of work. These organizations have had freedom to shift emphasis as the situations change. It may be, however, that the need for this specialized organization growth has passed. There are two words much used which represent two distinct types of growth in America—specialization and unification. It seems to me that the time has come for more consideration to be given to the developing need for some degree of joint approach on the part of state and national groups, public and private, to local community situations.

In the larger cities local organizations, many of them affiliated with or a branch of a national group, are making a serious attempt to relate their programs and integrate their work into some sort of a community pattern through federations and councils of social agencies. There are already a multiplicity of organizations in the larger cities, and comprehensive social recreational and health programs will best be secured through the team work developed by councils and other joint endeavors of that type. This type of development, however, will not give Poseydunk the organization needed nor will it provide adequate social and health activities for the smaller cities, towns, and rural coun-

ties. An attempt has been made to bring about a better understanding between the national groups through the National Social Work Council but this organization is still very much of an infant and the leaders are proceeding very cautiously. The Council is functioning, however, very effectively, not so much as a council but rather as an association of the leaders of national agencies for better team work.

Poseydunk is not in need of a council of social agencies but it does need: First, the organization of the local people and resources into a real community organization so that their problems may be attacked by an organization especially built to meet their particular situation. Second, they need expert service in securing and interpreting the facts and in planning the program or activities which are to remedy conditions. They need most of all, a community organization and expert service in building one. It is not usually just a question of program and, sometimes, not a question of programs at all, for frequently communities must be rebuilt or have a reshaping of their social machinery before they successfully cope with social and health problems.

Most of these national and state organizations have field representatives. Should I have recommended that the mayor of Poseydunk call for the services of any of these? Would not the representatives of any of these groups I have mentioned and the others, both private and public, see the need for a local unit of the organization they represent or for the installation of the activities in which they are especially interested? Could any of them do a real community organization job?

The national and state groups have developed no effective unified field service although a few attempts have been made to coördinate approaches to some com-

munities. Towns like Poseydunk need field representatives who can tap the organized resources of the state and nation for their benefit and at the same time help these communities develop their own abundant resources in leadership, finances and organization. A few of the members of the National Social Work Council do list the itineraries of their workers with the Council and this list is sent to the member organizations. Only a few of the members, however, participate in this joint listing of itineraries and each organization still depends almost entirely upon its own field service.

We need better coördinated communities and the process of coördination and integration has been going on for some time especially in the larger cities. Inadequate community machinery is giving place to better tools, better equipment. Community organization is a continuous part of every community's social progress. The next marked advance in improving machinery for community development should come from the top. National and state groups must provide a mechanism less specialized and more suited to general purposes—some type of unified field service and workers who can do community organization work; a better understanding between public and private agencies, and a joint approach to social and health problems. We can have both social workers and Public Health nurses in most of the counties, even the rural ones, if public and private agencies will make a united approach to these problems.

Just before the end of the World War, the Ohio Council on Social Agencies was organized under the leadership of the Ohio Institute to develop better team work among the state groups. A plan for some degree of unification in field service was adopted and continued for several years. The Council was disbanded in 1925.



Under the direction of the Council there was a discussion at monthly meetings of the situation in each county, and field service from among the agencies was planned according to the particular need in each county. Much better team work was developed in Ohio by the Council, and the state groups gave helpful consideration to troublesome county situations and as a result could plan more effective field service.

There are about 300 national organizations not including the Foundations and not including those organized largely for religious purposes. Thirty-one of these are developing social work; six have distinct health programs; twelve are the so-called character building agencies and fourteen are organized to disburse relief funds and three are for social research. The others are not developing activities which could be classified as either health or social.

Community organization is mostly a matter of adjustment and accommodation and there is need for the same process among the national and state groups. These groups need to plan in terms of the total social concept instead of in segmented terms. This will not necessarily mean any amalgamation of organizations or even the forming of federations, although some phase of the latter plan is more likely to follow. Whatever the particular machinery that is evolved, the essential thing is to approach the communities of all sizes with a plan to make them better coördinated communities with adequate community machinery to meet any particular situation that may exist, such as the delinquency situation in Poseydunk, and to develop all health, recreational, and social activities that they need. Uniformity of methods is not especially desirable but a joint approach through some sort of a

common field service is probably an essential.

The approach to communities from national and state groups will of necessity be from some basis of specialized activities. The case work agencies will make their approach about as a case worker approaches her work with a family in need of her services. With this group the approach will continue to be on the basis of community case work. The organizations doing group work must of necessity make their approach on a different basis. They are organizing groups for varied types of activities and consequently their approach is less intensified, reaches a wider group, and they need and make a more extensive use of publicity.

Nothing can successfully be imposed upon a local community by outside groups or forces which the community is not ready to receive. There is practically nothing of permanent value in the way of community activities that they can take without most active participation, for this would be like a tree growing without roots embedded in the soil. Each community must make these programs their own and to do so must understand their own needs and must develop an interest and a community organization which will truly represent that particular community. The outside groups can help by supplying expert service and by adjusting their approach to local communities so that activities and the organizations will be developed according to something approaching total social rather than segmented concepts. The spirit of creative adventure must be stimulated in local communities, no program can be made outside a community and be handed in or down. Every constructive program for the betterment of conditions must be undertaken not from the standpoint of any particular organizations or department but from the

standpoint of the community as a whole so that there will be developed not only better health and social conditions but new

attitudes towards values of life and the machinery so that the community may move forward all along the line.

## WIDENING THE HORIZON OF THE PRISON CELL

CHESTER ALLEN

**W**HOLEsome use of prisoners' spare time—is such a consummation possible? Perhaps not 100 per cent possible as yet, but officials of the Wisconsin State Prison at Waupun have developed a plan which has been proving itself steadily and increasingly effective. This plan offers to every inmate a constructive educational use of idle time through the coöperation of the University of Wisconsin Extension Division. It treats every inmate as an individual and gives him an opportunity for personality growth in the right direction.

There has been, heretofore, no constructive plan for providing effective occupation for the idle hours of inmates after locking the cells for the night. Idle hours can very well prove dangerous. The theory that enforced idleness is a punishment during which the prisoner will think over his misdeeds and resolve to reform is an exploded one. The hours contribute to terrific depression, irritation, despair, and very often are used to think up evil schemes and ingenious codes which result in fomenting trouble later. Wisconsin University Extension correspondence-study courses were introduced into the Wisconsin State Prison several years ago to provide stimulation for energetic personalities to use this spare time for growing in the right direction.

### METHOD AND EXTENT OF THE WISCONSIN PLAN

The plan allows inmates of the State Prison to enroll for correspondence-study

courses offered by the University of Wisconsin Extension Division and to pursue these courses by mail, with the added privilege of visits from a University representative twice a month. The students, therefore, spend the evening hours from 6 to 10 p.m. and other spare time on the constructive work of a correspondence-study course instead of in enforced idleness or reading newspapers or magazines. The semi-monthly instructional visit of the University representative, which is made in the evening hours at the cell doors, is simply to see that each student is working along as he should and to offer such help and encouragement as may seem necessary.

### THE COURSES

The entire list of correspondence-study courses of the University of Wisconsin Extension Division is offered to the inmates. This affords a wide range to satisfy nearly every interest of the more advanced students. The only prerequisite is that the student must be able to carry the course he selects. Since prisoners are characteristically men of little education and meager vocational training the largest number of applications are for elementary and vocational courses.

The subjects selected by the inmates during the past year and the registrations in each were as follows: *Mathematics*: 34 (Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Shop Arithmetic, Carpenter's Arithmetic); *Engineering*: 11 (Automobile, Telephony); *Music*: 6 (Theory, Harmony); *Drawing*: 33 (Architectural

Drawing, Mechanical Drawing, Show Card Writing, Free-Hand Lettering); *English*: 32 (Elementary, High School, University); *Business*: 19 (Bookkeeping, Accounting, Business Law, Retailing); *Spanish*: 3 (1st Year College); *Home Economics*: 2; *French*: 2 (1st Year College); *Psychology*: 1 (Elementary); *Economics*: 1 (Elementary); *German*: 1 (1st Year College).

#### COST OF COURSES

The cost of these courses to the inmates is the same as to other students in the state, ranging from \$10 to \$25 each. The work required in one of them should keep a student busy about a year. The inmate earns the money for it and the necessary supplies from his own productive labor in the prison shop. Payment may be made in small installments. If a man is employed at a job for which he earns no pay, then he may have the money for a course sent in to him.

#### THE GILLIN INMATE SCHOLARSHIP FUND

For capable inmates who are unable to secure money from either of these sources there is a scholarship loan fund established through the interest of the criminology classes of Professor J. L. Gillin at the University of Wisconsin. During the past three years these University classes have, at the end of the school year in June, each taken up a collection and donated the money to this purpose, forming a fund which, together with donations from other sources (notably former inmate students in the State Prison) has now reached the sum of \$265. About 30 men and women inmates have been provided with courses through this fund. Each person receiving a scholarship signs an agreement to return the money as soon as he is able. Repayments, in small sums, thus far amount to about \$50.

#### EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

In addition to the fact that men are advised by the University representative as to the best courses for their particular needs, the officials of the State Prison so far as possible undertake to place a man in the kind of work best suited to his natural abilities and training, with special reference to his work in University Extension courses. Thus there is a mutual advantage. The inmate is able to keep alert in a work in which he already has an interest and will be better prepared for life upon release. On the other hand the institution gets more expert service in the various jobs in the shops and office. The work of educational and vocational guidance, however, is seriously handicapped by the crowded condition of the prison and the consequent shortage of work.

#### REASONS FOR ENROLLMENT

The reasons for inmates' enrollment in Extension courses are many. Some inmates simply want to pass the time, some enjoy the stimulation of an intellectual task placed before them by another, some expect it will aid their pardon application, some hope to prepare themselves for better jobs when released, and many want to write their life stories, which are expected to bring large financial returns. It is a peculiar psychological fact that many inmates feel that a large public is interested in their stories.

The drawing courses are popular probably because they give an opportunity for the use of the hands as well as the mind. The music courses are requested because of the desire to get into the band. Since the extension courses in music are all theoretical, only the better trained and more advanced students are able to pursue them. Otherwise the number enrolled would be larger.



But whatever the motive, the personal visit of the University representative helps to guide the student into practical self-developing channels.

#### INSTRUCTION VISITS

A visit from the University representative is permitted twice a month. The calls are made on the 5th and 20th of the month in the evening, while the student is in his cell at work upon his course.

On each visit a check is made on the number of lessons or the amount of work done since the last call. If difficulties have arisen in the course they are analyzed and straightened out, or a method of solution is suggested. If no lessons are completed, the reason is sought and encouragement offered toward a more active study of the work in hand. Often the difficulties are largely imaginary. A conversation has much to do with dispelling such illusions.

The real work is done entirely by correspondence. The assignments are sent by mail direct from the instructor at the University at Madison. The written lessons are also returned by mail. The representative does not see assignments or lessons except as he asks to see them at the time of his call at the inmate student's cell.

#### TEXTBOOKS AND SUPPLIES

Paper, pencil, and various supplies when needed may be ordered at standard prices through the extension representative. In the drawing course supplies include all necessary equipment such as instruments, inks, paints, and drawing boards. Since only inmates enrolled in courses are allowed any of these things, it is considered quite a privilege to be an extension student. All supplies sent in are, of course, inspected in the Deputy's office before they are delivered to the student.

#### THE CELL AS A STUDY ROOM

It is apparent from the foregoing that the cell may become a study room instead of a mere cage. The long lonely evenings may be fully used in the study of some useful subject which will help to build a self-respecting personality. By so doing men are able to avoid the long hours otherwise often given over to brooding and the contemplation of crimes. Constructive, continuous study of a University Extension course helps to keep an inquiring mind useful. It provides an effective means whereby a man who enters prison can be discharged better able to cope with outside conditions than when he entered. In the cell, therefore, where he is alone, real constructive work can be done, supervised by capable instructors.

#### CLASS INSTRUCTION

It is to be understood, of course, that regular school is conducted in the institution. These classes, however, are elementary and designed for inmates who can not read nor write.

It is practically impossible to assemble an advanced class group with all members possessing equal or nearly equal mental equipment, aptitudes, and training. This fact, combined with the tendency on the part of inmates to want to appear to their fellow inmates better than they are, makes correspondence study more generally useful because of its individual character and ease of operation.

#### READING COURSES

In recognition of a need for types of interests different from those which can be supplied by a correspondence-study course, a plan of reading courses was tried. The plan met with a cordial response.

Applications for these courses are made by inmates through the University repre-

sentative. A list of books with a short statement is then made for the student which constitutes a definite reading course on the subject of his interest. The books are then sent to him, one at a time. Semi-monthly the University representative visits these students just as he does the regular extension students, to determine how well the course is satisfying the need. Each student is required to make a written single-page report on each book read.

The subjects of the Reading Courses offered to the inmates during the past year were as follows: Therapeutic Action of Drugs, Biography of Great Surgeons, Fur Bearing Animals, Society Islands, Navigation, Sign and Show Card Writing, Fancy Penmanship, Auto Mechanics, Cartooning and Sketching, Mechanical Drawing, Sheet Metal Work, Mining Engineering, Heavy Duty Motors, Orchestration and Instrumentation, Agriculture, Photography, Marine Engines, Airplane Mechanics, Business Correspondence, English History, Spanish, Paper Making, Color in Art.

In conclusion, it should be said that the success of the work has been made possible through the excellent and hearty coöperation of the various state departments and numerous individuals. Particular mention should be made of the assistance given by the Warden, the Deputy Warden and officers, the State Board of Control, the Library Commission, and Professor J. L. Gillin and his criminology classes in the Department of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin.

It is clearly apparent from the work carried on thus far that such wholesome use of spare time by inmates is of great value in the administration of the prison. It is none the less important to the inmates who thus have many opportunities for personality growth in the direction of their own individual aptitudes and capacities.

This plan affords a real method of widening the horizon of the prison cell, with beneficial results to all concerned.

### OCEANIA

OCEANIA, a journal devoted to the study of the native peoples of Australia, New Guinea, and the islands of the Pacific Ocean, made its initial appearance in April, 1930, under the editorship of A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, University of Sydney. The first number includes, in its 128 pages, "Some Aspects of Warfare in Melanesia" by Camilla H. Wedgwood; "The Social Organization of Australian Tribes" by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown; "A Dart Match in Tikopia" by Raymond Firth; "The Wik-Munkan Tribe of Cape York Peninsula" by Urusla McConnel; reviews of Firth's *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa*, Williams' *Orokaiva Magic*, Mead's *An Inquiry into the Question of Cultural Stability in Polynesia*; Reports and Proceedings, Notes and News, and Bibliographical Notices. It is published for the Australian National Research Council by Macmillan and Company Limited, Melbourne, with the head office in London. The price is seven shillings and sixpence.

## THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

This department is conducted by THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY CENTER ASSOCIATION, and is edited by LeRoy E. Bowman, 403 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

### URBAN EXPANSION AND NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE

NILES CARPENTER

THERE is no need to descant upon the significance to the community movement of urban expansion and neighborhood change. The word *Instability* should be writ large across the community program in any American urban area. For the typical American city is persistently and continuously growing, and, because it is growing, its various utilization areas—its commercial districts, its residential areas, its industrial regions, and its dormitory suburbs—are constantly in movement, jostling one against the other, and disrupting each other's community life.

This phenomenon is typical of the American city, but it by no means is peculiar to this country. Wherever there has been urban growth, there has been discontinuity in area utilization and community change. Shortly after the conclusion of the World War, the Bishop of London found that nineteen churches, situated in the central commercial area of the metropolis had altogether a bare 300 of worshippers on a given Sunday, while the suburban areas were badly under-supplied with religious facilities. The neighborhood churches of an earlier generation had been left stranded in the wake of urban expansion.<sup>1</sup>

Two hundred years ago, the city of Paris was witnessing a similar process: Louis the Fifteenth issued a decree deploring the fact that "the buildings at the interior of the city are being neglected while new ones are being erected outside the city limits." He went on to explain that "the center of the city is becoming like the edge of a desert,"<sup>2</sup> language that might be applied to the areas of transition,—the ganglands and hell's kitchens and Barbary Coasts—of many a modern city.

Seventeen hundred years earlier, the poet Horace was bemoaning the same sort of phenomenon. One of his odes celebrates the encroachment upon the countryside of the Roman equivalent for the "country-club belt."

"Ah splendid homes anon will spare  
The busy plow a meagre place;  
.....  
The elms to sterile plane-trees yield.  
Soon myrtle groves and violets blue  
With balmy wealth from every field  
Will scent the slopes where olives grew  
And once repaid the laboring swain."<sup>3</sup>

As with Louis the Fifteenth, so with most observers or urban phenomena today, the processes of growth and change are envisaged as essentially deteriorating in

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Sellier, *La Crise du Logement* (1921), p.

14.

<sup>3</sup> Horace, *Odes*, Bk. II, Ode IV. Pierce's translation.

<sup>1</sup> *New York Times*, May 11, 1920.



their immediate influence. That is to say, the area of transition that is in the back-wash of one wave of expansion and in the path of a second and following wave is considered as being the focus of deterioration. Obversely, the slums and the localized vice centers of the city are sought in these same transitional areas. This generalization appears to hold true for most cities,—more especially for young and rapidly growing cities, such as are usually encountered in the United States. There are, however, individual cases to which it does not apply,—cities where the slum and vice districts are not associated with transitional areas, and where transitional areas are not deteriorating, but are rather maintaining their community life, and are changing for the better, insofar as they are changing at all. It is the purpose of this paper, *first*, to describe some of these situations, and, *second*, to undertake an elucidation of the sociological principles exemplified by them.

#### SLUM AND VICE AREAS

Reference has been made to the fact that the poet Horace witnessed a phase of urban expansion in the city of Rome that was quite comparable to that which takes place at the periphery of the American city of today. It is necessary only to consult the works dealing with the archaeology of ancient Rome to perceive that Rome commenced an almost uninterrupted course of expansion in the pre-republican period, and that this continued up to the eve of its decline. Yet, for all this, Rome seems to have had two distinct slum and vice areas during the greater part of its history. These were the *Subura* and the backstreets of the *Velabrum*, or dock and market section. The latter of these, in particular, was a by-word for squalor and vice.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See Ashly, "Topography of Rome" in Sandys, *A companion to Latin Studies* (1910).

A similar situation is to be observed in many European cities, and in some American ones. In Paris there are streets that have been malodorous—literally and figuratively—since the time of Villon and his ruffianly crew of *mauvais garçons*.<sup>5</sup>

In the United States, there are at least two cities which have had well defined deterioration areas that have remained in the same location for considerable periods. They are Denver and Buffalo.

In Denver, a segregated vice district existed on Market Street, from the boom days of the late nineteenth century down to the second decade of the present century. It was not a transitional area—there were substantial wholesale and retail merchandising sections all around it.

In Buffalo, there has been a slum and vice area in the vicinity of William and Michigan streets from the eighteen nineties right down to the past year or two.

These variants from the recognized pattern of distribution of deteriorated districts may be attributed to two features of urban life: (1) a slow rate of expansion, (2) an attitude of toleration towards deteriorated areas, particularly toward vice areas.

Both of these phenomena are to be observed in the older European cities, such as Paris, and especially the cities of the ancient world, such as Rome. Both cities belong to the pre-industrial era of history, in whole or in part, and populations expanded very slowly before the industrial revolution. That is to say, ancient Rome, during all of its existence, and Paris, during most of its existence<sup>6</sup> have been situated in a society in which all population growth, and, *pari passu*, urban growth was very much less rapid than has been the case during the past few decades. Indeed,

<sup>5</sup> Gosset, *Quartier Latin et Luxembourg* (1923), p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> Paris dates back to pre-Roman times.

Reuter<sup>7</sup> believes that the population of Europe was nearly stationary in the Middle Age.

In the old world, moreover, particularly in the Latin world, as represented by ancient Rome and modern Paris, there was more toleration for deterioration areas, particularly vice areas, than in the typical modern American community. This point deserves some emphasis, for it is not unlikely that the rather common association of vice districts with transition areas, observed by Burgess, Reckless, and others is in part to be explained as a response to the periodic suppressive activities that characterize the police policy of many American and some European cities. Where such a policy exists, the disreputable and the vicious elements in any city can make shift to subsist by settling in one or another transitional area where they are less likely to be interfered with than in more settled districts, and by moving from one such area to another, as pressure is exerted by neighborhood change or by police interference. On the other hand, where the existence of the slum area and the vice district is taken for granted, they can remain undisturbed in the same location, for generations or even centuries,

<sup>7</sup> Reuter in *Population Problems* (1923), p. 92, estimates the populations of various European countries at the beginning and the end of the 19th century as follows:

	Beginning of the 19th century millions	End of the 19th century millions
European Russia.....	40.1	112.8
France.....	26.8	38.6
Germany.....	25.0	56.4
Austria Hungary.....	25.0	45.4
Italy.....	17.5	32.5
Great Britain and Ire- land.....	16.3	41.5
Spain.....	6.0	18.1

Sweeney shows that the birth-death index of Sweden increased from 120 in 1749 to 187 in 1919. *The National Increase of Mankind* (1926), p. 175.

as recognized elements in the city's social pattern.

If the attention is devoted to the two American cities that have been mentioned, namely Denver and Buffalo, it is seen that both of them can be regarded as in some measure presenting conditions similar to those in the old-world cities just discussed. Both of them,—Buffalo, in particular—have undergone periods of relative quiescence in population growth, during which it has been possible for intra-urban community lines to become more nearly stabilized than is the case in the typical rapidly growing community, as exemplified by Chicago.

TABLE I  
RATES OF INCREASE IN CHICAGO, BUFFALO, AND DEN-  
VER, 1880-1890 TO 1910-1920  
(Rate in Chicago taken as 100 for each decade)

CITY	RATE OF GROWTH			
	1880-90	1890-1900	1900-10	1910-20
Chicago.....	100	100	100	100
Denver.....	168*	46	207	85
Buffalo.....	54	69	68	83

\* Absolute increase only 35,000.

The factor of toleration has not been absent in either city. Denver was a "wide open" town, during the boom days of silver mining, and retained many of the traditions of the frontier until the second decade of the present century. Buffalo, besides having a very large immigrant population,<sup>8</sup> has an enormous volume of port traffic, and has many of the community features, including, until very recently, an easy-going attitude towards

<sup>8</sup> In 1920, 67.1 per cent of the population of Buffalo was foreign-born or of foreign-born and mixed parentage. See Carpenter and Others, *Nationality, Color, and Economic Opportunity in the City of Buffalo*, in the University of Buffalo Monograph Series (1927), p. 101.

vice, that are ordinarily associated with a sea-port city.

#### NON-DETERIORATED TRANSITION AREAS

The obverse of the fact that deterioration districts are not always associated with transition areas is the further fact that transition areas are by no means always *foci* of community disorganization. The following instances may be named: In Washington, the preferred-residential Meridian Hill district is directly encroaching on a lower-middle-class district, much of it consisting of Negro residences. No particular disorganization of the older community seems to be taking place.<sup>9</sup> Instead, the community appears to be functioning on a constantly narrowing physical basis, making use of modern methods of transportation (street cars, motor-buses, automobiles) for access to such economic, recreational, and other facilities as are no longer available in its present location.

In Buffalo, the William Street—Michigan Avenue slum and vice area is being suddenly and spectacularly displaced by the traffic and business development incidental to the erection of a new railway terminal at the foot of William Street. A traffic artery has been cut through Vine Alley—the heart of the old vice district. This area has for a number of years, been almost as far deteriorated, physically and otherwise, as is possible in a modern American community, particularly since the Jewish population of William Street has begun giving ground to recently migrated Negroes. Under the new dispensation, this district is being transformed, without any interregnum of deterioration, into the kind of commercial area that is always associated with centrally located railway terminals.

<sup>9</sup> See especially the district between 16th Street, 18th Street, Florida Avenue, and Kalorama Road.

In Paris, following the "Hausmanization" of the left-bank region, and the development of new forms of rapid transportation, such as the underground railway, the motor-bus, and the automobile, certain portions of the *Quartier Latin*, which have long been sordid and disreputable, have been invaded by apartment houses, hotels, and department stores. The new and the old types of community development, moreover, appear to carry on each its own way of life without taking note of, or interfering with the other. In other words, one form of community life persists relatively unimpaired, though on a narrowing basis, until it is physically superseded by another.<sup>10</sup>

These instances could be multiplied by close observation of the vicissitudes of expansion in many present-day urban communities. They suffice, however, to provide the *point d'appui* for the following generalizations. (1) The transitional area in the present-day is not necessarily a focus of deterioration. Instead, it may continue its activities, on a steadily narrowing base, until it is supplanted by the invading type of area utilization eventually superseding it. (2) This phenomenon is to be observed particularly where long-established areas of deterioration are, after the lapse of a number of years (centuries in the case of Paris) suddenly invaded by a more socially approved type of area utilization. (3) The recent development of rapid transit facilities and of the privately-owned motor-vehicle has, probably, played a central rôle in such phenomena, for: (a) They make available, for residential and commercial utilization, areas that have hitherto been relatively

<sup>10</sup> In the Luxembourg—Odeon section of the VI<sup>e</sup> Arrondissement, for example, one finds proletarian *bistros*, communist rendezvous, brothels, and down-at-heel hotels within a stone's throw of newly built apartment houses, tourist hotels, and smart shops.



inaccessible, and, (b) They enable the residents of a slowly disintegrating area to maintain such economic, recreational, and "neighborhood" contacts as are required for a normal community life without direct dependence upon their own *locale*.<sup>11</sup> This

<sup>11</sup> This point was suggested to the writer in the course of Prof. Leroy E. Bowman's discussion of a

last point bears obvious relation to the declining significance of the neighborhood in the city, as observed by students of community organization.<sup>12</sup>

paper read at the 1925 Meeting of The American Sociological Society.

<sup>12</sup> Steiner, *Community Organization* (1925), pp. 19-20.

#### TWENTY-FIFTH MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The program for the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the American Sociological Society is being rapidly completed. There will be a number of special features, and it is hoped that there will be the largest attendance yet recorded. The meetings will be held at Cleveland, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, December 29th, 30th, and 31st. At the same time and place, in addition to the social science meetings will be held also meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

The tentative program provides for the presidential addresses on Monday evening. Meeting with the American Sociological Society will be the American Political Science Association and the American Economic Association for the presidential addresses. On Tuesday evening President Hoover is scheduled to address the joint meetings of all societies, or in case there is some emergency intervening, there will be an appropriate substitute. On Wednesday evening the annual dinner of the American Sociological Society will feature a sort of twenty-fifth anniversary with representatives of other social sciences in joint discussion of the development of sociology and its prospects.

Another special feature will be several sessions devoted to a more comprehensive and thorough discussion of the teaching of sociology than has yet been presented. Included in this will be two sessions on critical discussion of various methods of teaching sociology, a joint session on the teaching of statistics, a joint session with the section on sociology and social work, and a luncheon meeting on experimental sociology.

A third special feature will be a main session devoted to the historical and theoretical aspects of sociology, a sort of tribute to Professor Charles H. Cooley. At this session one paper will be devoted to Professor Cooley's theories of conflict, one to present trends in sociology, one to a review of the history of sociology in the United States, and one to an analysis of the activities of the American Sociological Society for the last twenty-five years.

Other than these special features the main theme of the Christmas meetings will be Social Conflict. The presidential address will center around the general theme of folk and regional conflict as a field for sociological study. The several sections and divisions will feature research and discussion on social conflict and joint meetings. These include the division of social research, the section on rural sociology, sociology and psychiatry, sociology and social work, sociology and religion, educational sociology, the family, and the community. Some items in some of the section programs are not yet completed, and the full program will be published in advance of the meetings.

There will be joint meetings with the American Association for Labor Legislation, the American Political Science Association, the American Economic Association, and the American Statistical Association. The program is being planned to reduce somewhat the number of sessions and to coordinate the several sections and meetings in such way as to avoid overlapping and crowding. Indications are that the Christmas program and renewed interest in the Society will bring not only a large attendance but an increased membership. It is urged that plans be made early for attendance and for the enlistment of new members. A number of schools and groups plan to have breakfast sessions. It is suggested that all those who wish to schedule such groups notify the secretary or the president well in advance, rather than to wait until the program has been printed.

## MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY\*

Contributions to this department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family. It is edited by Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina.

### THE EFFECT OF AN UNSATISFACTORY RELATIONSHIP OF BROTHER TO BROTHER ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY

ROBERT H. BARKER

FROM the moment the child comes into the world a host of influences play upon him directing, organizing, and controlling his impulses to act in conformity with the kind of behavior approved by his social group. During the first six or seven years of his life the child's sphere of social experience is limited very largely to his family circle. The environment to which he must adjust his activity is not very complex. It requires of the child only simple, uniform, and consistent behavior. He finds that in most of his environmental situations he must learn to act in only one way. For, in these situations, his social group thinks that there is only one right way of acting and that the child must behave in this manner at all times and under all circumstances. Also in a well regulated household the child's behavior is almost constantly

under the surveillance of father or mother, older brother or sister, close relatives or friends intimate with the family, who, as new situations present themselves to the child, tell him how to act. If situations do confront the child in which, because of conflicting definitions, several alternative modes of action are possible, the child is not left on his own initiative to choose between them. The family chooses for him, pointing out what it considers the proper type of behavior.

The trying period of the child's life is adolescence which, from a social point of view, "begins with the first struggle of the child to organize his life for himself, to emancipate himself from adult control, and ends when he has completed such organization and is capable of formulating and following his own program and philosophy of life."<sup>1</sup> As the child grows

\* Although there was never greater attention given to the problems of marriage and the family, there is at present no scientific periodical devoted to their discussion. The journalist is invited by newspapers and popular magazines to exploit the widespread interest in matrimonial and family experiences, but aside from *The Family*, which is adapted to the needs of the social worker, and the child-study magazines, there is no publication that stresses the research and interpretation of the scientist.

The appearance of an ever increasing number of books treating problems of marriage and the family reveals the interest of the serious student and suggests the need of offering opportunity for the publication of scientific articles. This department of *Social Forces* aims not only to provide space for such articles, but also to encourage the scientific study of marriage and the family.

<sup>1</sup> Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang*, p. 80.

into adolescence his circle of social contacts is greatly enlarged. The influences that play upon him are no longer confined to his primary group associations. New and puzzling situations, calling upon him for adjustments, present themselves. In most of these situations, the child finds conflicting possibilities for action and, in all likelihood, can no longer avail himself of parental or friendly counsel to help him choose the approved manner of action from among the possible alternatives. More and more he is forced to rely upon his past social experience and training, and to make the choice for himself. This is for the child a very difficult problem. Conflicting possibilities of action in a given situation confuse him. He often finds that his social experience is insufficient to guide him in making the proper choice, and he falls into error. Here is the testing point of his innate potentialities and of the efficiency of the primary social institutions of his social *milieu*. Their limitations will be reflected in the stunted or distorted personality of the child. The process of adjusting himself to his more complex environment evokes all the potentialities of his original nature. If the child has any limitations in this respect, which were not noticeable as long as his social environment was of a uniform, simple, and primary nature, they will likely be manifested in his inability to respond adequately to the numerous and conflicting stimuli that play upon him. To organize the diverse elements of his social experience into a related and consistent whole is for him an unattainable accomplishment. He can never reach that stage in his life in which he is able to "formulate and follow his own program and philosophy of life" and remains, sociologically and psychologically speaking, a child.

When the child makes a social blunder in trying to adjust himself to a difficult

situation, the efficient family immediately registers its social disapproval, redefines the situation for the child, pointing out to him the approved manner of action. The child then must modify his original adjustment to this situation on the basis of the modified definition. In this process of continually adjusting and readjusting himself to his life situations the child, if his capacity permits him to do so, gradually emancipates himself from adult control. He develops, on the basis of an ever widening and richer social experience, the ability to define the situation in conformity with the social or his own personal code and becomes capable of formulating and following his own program and philosophy of life.

If the family breaks down as a defining agency, unless there are community agencies to act in its place, the difficulties of the child in adjusting to his more complex environment are greatly increased. For when the child is confronted with a new situation, unless the family functions as a defining or redefining agency helping him to direct his responses to the situation in accordance with the customs of the group, he is left largely under the influence of his own impulses as to his mode of behavior. We have here the nucleus of delinquent behavior<sup>2</sup> which if not counteracted by good influences in the community will lead to a life of crime and vice. The family may, if the child responds to a new situation in a manner of which it disapproves, perform its function by reacting in a negative rather than a positive manner. Instead of redefining the situation and redirecting the child's behavior into

<sup>2</sup> "We shall find overwhelming evidence that the natural tendencies of an individual, unless controlled and organized by social education, inevitably lead to a behavior which must be judged as abnormal from the social standpoint." Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*, V, 167.



the socially approved channel, it may simply close in on the child limiting his sphere of social experience almost entirely to the family circle. Thus the emotional bonds between the child and the family are strengthened and fixation results. When later forced into a larger social world, he finds it very difficult to adjust himself to new situations and may be an utter failure because of his poverty of social experience. On the other hand the child, in order to compensate for his narrowness of social contracts, may create an imaginary world in which he has wide and varied social experiences. He becomes a shut-in personality living largely to himself and finding the satisfaction of his desires in a dream world.

There are many relationships between the child and the other members of the family which affect his personality, either retarding or aiding its normal growth. The recent developments of psychiatry have recognized the importance of the relationships between parent and child. Writers in this field have noted the dire effects upon the child's personality of unsatisfactory relationships between the mother and the child or the father and the child. While various authorities have dealt with the relationships between the children of the family, I think it can be said with a fair degree of accuracy that few, if any, writings specifically dealing with the relationships of one child to another have appeared. The importance of this type of relationship as it affects the developing personality is well indicated in the following case which has been under the author's observation for several years. These preliminary remarks, it is hoped, will furnish a background for the discussion of some of the important points in the case.

The physical traits of the brothers in

this case are important in determining their relations one to the other.

The A family is composed of uncle, aunt, and two brothers. The two boys were adopted by the aunt and uncle at early ages soon after the death of their father and mother. There is a difference of only one year in the ages of the boys. The younger brother has always been small physically and undersized for his age while the older has always been strong physically and well developed for his age. These facts have always caused the larger and older brother, James, to have the tendency to impose upon and tease the younger boy, Clarence. The aunt tells an amusing little incident in this connection. When the boys were about eighteen and thirty-six months old, the mother one day heard the younger crying and went to see what the trouble was. On entering the bedroom she found James, who had finished drinking the milk from his bottle, astride of Clarence drinking the milk from Clarence's bottle. Clarence was crying and squirming. Until the time he was eight years old, Clarence had enuresis, and James would always shame and tease him about this. Clarence, in addition to his small size, had a noticeably concave back. This made him the butt of many jokes and much criticism from his brother. Clarence was redheaded, a trait which won him the nickname "shine" and about which his brother and especially his uncle teased him.

The manner in which the child's conception of himself is developed in the close contacts of the family circle is well illustrated in this case. In the attitudes of his brother James and to some extent in those of his aunt and uncle, Clarence sees himself as inferior and incapable of meeting and solving the situations which confront him. His sense of inadequacy thus developed in the family circle later affects his behavior in his wider social and business relationships.

After school the boys would help with the chores around the house. James nearly always managed to leave the more irksome tasks for Clarence. Oftentimes Clarence would rebel, and a fight would ensue if the boys were out of sight of aunt and uncle. James would always win, and Clarence would finally give up and do the irksome task. The two brothers fussed and fought frequently. After the boys went to bed at

night, James would delight in teasing Clarence by punching him in the ribs or trying to push him out of bed. The boys were usually sent to bathe in the same tub at the same time. In here many scraps and quarrels would ensue. It was noticed that James always took the most desirable position, forcing Clarence to sleep on the back side of the bed and to wash in the shallow end of the tub. These little incidents, more or less amusing to adults, were given little attention by the aunt and uncle. At times during these episodes Clarence would become so angry and so worked up emotionally that he would threaten to kill his brother or wish he were dead. On one such occasion Clarence actually drew his knife on James and threatened to cut him. The boys continued to fuss and fight at various intervals until their sophomore year in college. James could still lick Clarence in a fight.

When the boys were thirteen and fourteen years old, the uncle bought a Ford. Naturally, James being the older, was allowed to learn to drive the car first. James was a good driver and took pride in his ability. He resented any wishes of Clarence to drive, and when Clarence did drive, if he made any little mistake, James would scold him. If he got into a close place and could not get out at once, James would demand that he get out of the way and let him drive. If anything went wrong with the car, he said it was because of Clarence's bad driving. The car was often hard to start. If Clarence's first attempts at starting it failed, James would shove him out of the way with some such remark as this: "You little baby, you can't do anything, get out of the way and let me start it." The aunt was of a nervous temperament, and she would usually tell Clarence he had better let James do the driving. If she was present at times when Clarence tried to start the car, she would tell him to let James do it.

At school the boys made good grades and got along very well. In grammar school Clarence did have some conflicts with his deskmate who tried to tease him. Clarence was somewhat timid and bashful, was slower than James to enter into the activities of the children and to make friends. During his high school years he was extremely timid, bashful, and self-conscious in the presence of strangers and especially in the company of girls. He never had a date during his years at high school and not until his junior year at college. He went to a few parties and school socials, but he says that he always felt ill-at-ease, extremely self-conscious, and sensitive to the remarks and looks of others. He would stand around most of the time and talk to the other boys instead of to the girls. A few minutes before the social was over he might summon up courage enough to speak

to a girl acquaintance. Clarence and James went through high school and college together and usually accompanied each other to these social functions. James mixed with the girls, had dates, had a good time, and was popular. He teased Clarence at times for being so bashful, would often criticize the way he dressed and scolded him for moping around at the parties, asking him why he did not get out and talk to the girls telling him that folks would think he was a fool. If Clarence made any little social error, James would always scold him, and if Clarence resented it a fight would ensue.

One afternoon when the aunt's nephew, who was about James' age, was visiting the family, he and James in the presence of Clarence planned to call on some girls in the community that night. At that time they said nothing to Clarence about going along. When the time came for them to dress, they asked Clarence if he was not going. Clarence, at once showing his resentment because he had not been included in their original plans, told them very emphatically that he would not go. They tried to get him to go, but he refused. On another occasion James decided to visit a boy friend. Previously the brothers always went along together on visits to this friend, but this time James let it be known very plainly that he did not want Clarence to go. He would have had his way if the grandmother, after much coaxing, had not finally persuaded James to let Clarence go along. James gave in but showed very plainly that he resented Clarence's going.

Though Clarence always made good grades on his studies at college, he was usually afraid and nervous on examination. In answering questions asked him, Clarence betrayed by the tone of his voice and quick hurried manner of speaking, his inner emotional strain and nervousness. His sense of inadequacy seemed to show itself most when he was forced to go to the Dean's office or to one of his teachers' offices. He cited several instances in which he started to the Dean's office or a teacher's office got half way, would become self-conscious and timid, say to himself: "I can see him later about this," turn around and go back to his room. This would often be repeated as many as three times before Clarence could summon courage enough to carry out his intention. He reported the same difficulty in his business relations. During the summer vacation, Clarence says he passed by stores several times before he could summon courage enough to go in and ask for a job. Many times he would start from home with the specific intention of seeking a job and would often return without having inquired about a single position. He was never able to obtain a job during summer vacation, except-

ing one, throughout his four years at college. This job during this particular summer vacation was secured for him by a friend.

Clarence compensates for his inferior status and lack of social contacts by creating a dream world in which he conceives himself as a very important person.

About the age of eight, as Clarence says, he began to daydream extensively, and for the next ten or twelve years, the larger part of his spare moments were spent thus. He relates that he once heard his aunt tell of how Gypsy Smith, the evangelist, would go out into the cabbage patch and preach to the cabbage before he became an evangelist. Clarence himself dreamed of becoming a second Gypsy Smith or a David Livingstone and would in his imagination picture himself swaying large audiences or trying to convert the men of the jungles to Christianity. He pictured himself as a great philanthropist building churches in poor communities in the country and city. As he grew older he says that he often dreamed about the girls and the kind of sweetheart he would like to have.

Living in a world largely of his own making, Clarence becomes what we term a shut-in personality.

Clarence knew very few boys intimately at college. Most of them paid very little attention to him or he to them. He is slow to become acquainted and talks very little in the company of others. One of his girl friends wrote in his college annual that she hoped he would learn to talk by the next time she saw him. His aunt and uncle frequently ask him why he is so backward socially and why he does not talk more.

Gaining the ability to objectify and analyze his own incapacities, Clarence gradually overcomes his sense of inferiority and is able to adjust himself very well to the real world about him. The measure of success which he attains in his first teaching position aids in this respect.

During his last year in college, Clarence took courses in philosophy, psychology, and sociology which led him to analyze his own behavior. He began to see the causes of his sense of inferiority and to overcome it. Too he was able through the aid of the Dean of his college to secure a teaching position

in which he was fairly successful. Clarence reports that he has just about overcome his feeling of inadequacy and is able to adjust himself very well to most situations. He still has the tendency to drop many things he handles. His family still says of him: "If you want anything dropped give it to Clarence." He says he still seems not to know what to do with his hands when lecturing before his classes. If he does not know his topic very well a sense of inadequacy comes pouring in upon him, and he is very conscious of the fact that he cannot lecture on it or explain the different phases of it as they should be explained.

The foregoing case, it must be admitted, is fragmentary and incomplete. Undoubtedly many of the significant relationships between the two brothers have been overlooked. Again it is imperfect because of a lack of subjectivity. The case is also relatively unique rather than typical. However, barring these imperfections, it throws much light on the importance of the relationship of brother to brother for the development of personality.

The significance and importance of physical traits in their relation to personality is clearly brought out in the case. The mere enumeration and description of these traits are meaningless from the standpoint of the personality. They become important only as they determine to some extent the person's relations with other persons, the place or position he holds with reference to all the other persons with whom he has social contacts.

Physical or organic inferiority undoubtedly has oftentimes an important place in the formation of the inferiority complex. But no less significant are those relationships that are dominant in conditioning the person's conception of himself. In the case of Clarence we find that he was always forced to assume the subordinate rôle or place with reference to James. He was not allowed by James to solve new situations and problems for himself. He was frequently told that he could not do



a thing. In his feeble attempts to adjust himself to his social surroundings, Clarence was ridiculed and made fun of by James. Thus he comes to think of himself as being unable to meet successfully any new situation. This case seems to support the idea that the explanation of the inferiority complex is found in the conception one forms of himself as being an inferior person, incapable of meeting even the ordinary situations of everyday life. This conception, of course, is conditioned both by the person's physical traits and by the various influences of his social *milieu*.

Although the major conditioning social factor in Clarence's life was his contacts with his brother, James, we cannot rule out other family influences. Both the uncle and aunt contributed directly and indirectly to Clarence's conception of himself as inferior. The uncle teased him about his red hair, and his aunt by being impatient with his attempts to start the car and by requesting that he let James drive gave him the idea that he was in their minds inferior to James. They allowed James continually to force Clarence into the insignificant and inferior position. Like most parents they failed to see the influence upon the growth of personality of such things as the child being forced to do the irksome task, to sleep on the back side of the bed, to wash in the shallow end of the tub, or to give up in his attempts at trying to solve a certain problem. In this case we see the inefficiency of the family as a defining agency in that the aunt and uncle did not help Clarence solve and meet new situations but allowed James to define the situation for Clarence as one which the latter could not solve or adjust himself to.

In the process of adjusting himself to situations in the real world, Clarence met with repeated failure, and in order to main-

tain his self-respect it was inevitable that he build a dream world in which he had a superior rather than an inferior status. That the type of dream world reflects to a large extent the points at which the self is depreciated in the real world is well illustrated in this case. Thus we find Clarence dreaming of doing things that compensate for the inferior position he holds in the real world. Also failing to have normal social relationships with the opposite sex in the real world, Clarence has his dream girls and his fictitious sweetheart. Living in a dream world means that the person becomes socially isolated, that his contacts with others are very casual, that since he finds the satisfaction of his wishes in his dream world and not from contact with real people he places very little value on actual personal relationships, talks very little, and cares very little about acquaintance with others. He withdraws into himself, finds the satisfaction of his desires in his dream world, and becomes a shut-in personality. Such seems to be the case with Clarence.

The course of personality development seems to take a dominant trend or direction which colors all our other responses to the situations we meet. This is illustrated in the case of Clarence whose conception of himself as inferior dominated and colored his attempted adjustments to situations in his school and social life and in the business world. Personality is not a static something. It is always in the process of becoming as long as there are new situations to which the person must adjust. So in the case of Clarence as he is gradually able to meet a few of the situations he confronts and as he begins to see the causes of his faltering attempts to meet these, his dominant personality trend gradually becomes modified. Certain of the old traits, however, seem to persist.

That the effects of his relations with his

brother did not manifest themselves in Clarence's behavior to any appreciable extent until his high school and college years is highly significant and important. It is indicative of the growing complexity of the adolescent's social environment. The quality of adjustment that he is able to make to his more complex environment reflects the kind of social experience and training he has had previously in the family circle. This delayed effect of the malfunctioning family naturally enforces the parental tendency of placing the blame for the child's failures elsewhere than on the family and increases the difficulty of dealing with problems of the adolescent child.

This case is suggestive both of the possibility of opening up a rich and practically unexplored field in the realm of personal relationships and also of a method of approach to the study of personality. Just what further studies of this type will show concerning the importance of the relationships of one child to another for the development of personality is hard to predict. But, at least, a number of such studies would seem to have the latent possibilities of throwing light on one of the important influences affecting personality develop-

ment. As a method of approach to the study of personality, this type of case necessarily requires either very intimate contact between the observer and the child and his family for a large number of years or a close confidential friendship between the person studied and the observer. In either case, if the study is to be most valuable, the observer must make his observations tactfully and skillfully so as to get the facts in the case without the person studied becoming aware of his intentions. The observer must be a discreet questioner in order to get the person to give, confidentially, information on certain situations where it is needed to piece out the observations made. In this way the skilled observer is able to note the responses of the person as they are actually revealed in his attempts to meet his life situations and the actual operation of the influences affecting his adjustments to these. This type of case seems to have a certain intrinsic value also in that it is not colored by the person's awareness of the fact that his actions are being studied or that he is writing his experiences for someone who he thinks has some specific purpose for wanting to pry into his private affairs.

### THE SINGLE WOMAN<sup>1</sup>

**D**URING the winter and spring of 1929 a study in which I was engaged brought me into repeated conferences with several women who were members of a college faculty. As they

were all in early middle life, and as they seemed to be an unusual group of earnest truth-seekers, I ventured to solicit from them their testimony regarding one of the outstanding features of modern civilization, namely, the large proportion of capable women who remain unmarried. I prepared a questionnaire with the title which appears at the head of this article.

<sup>1</sup> The writer of this article was a teacher of sociology who had been a member of the American sociological Society since 1906 and of the American Economic Association for a dozen years longer. He had also been an occasional contributor to this and similar periodicals. As he had taken care to conceal, even from himself, the identity of the women who contributed the data for this article so he protected them from the

scrutiny of others and asked that his own name and that of the college in which he was employed be withheld from publication.

The first dozen questions were under the title, "Why Single?" The other eight, entitled "Present Affective Attitude," sought to bring out what it means to be a single woman. With each copy of the questionnaire I supplied a stamped envelope addressed to myself so that it could be returned to me without bringing any clew to the identity of the sender. I gave out eleven of the questionnaires. Seven of them came back soon, filled out as fully as could be expected. Three months later two more came back, less completely filled out.

Four out of the nine women found in their childhood experience some cause for their single state. One assigned a weight of thirty per cent to it. Another weighted it at fifteen per cent, the largest factor being parental disapproval of association with boys, but this cause did not keep her from having several love affairs during adolescence or from entering into a marriage engagement. Another assigned a weight of twenty-five per cent to her father-fixation (she was seventeen when he died), and another a weight of fifty per cent to a brother-fixation.

During adolescence all nine experienced love affairs, and all except three made marriage engagements. One had three such engagements, though only two were "sufficiently serious." Of the three who were never engaged, one assigned twenty-five per cent of the cause to her not being attractive to men and seventy-five per cent to lack of opportunity to get acquainted with men, although she headed off proposals from two men who were not attractive to her. Another who had not been engaged weighted the causes thus:

Indifference toward boys and men .....	10
Tired of two who might have proposed .....	10
Own wrong attitude toward sex .....	20
Preference for an independent career ....	60

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100

For the failure of the engagements to ripen into marriage, three causes stand out: incompatibility, long separation (in one case due to the war), and extreme caution, partly due to parental instruction. Death ended one engagement. Although all nine women are pursuing independent careers with eminent success, yet only four ranked deliberate choice of a career above economic necessity in giving the start.

Interest in vocation is naturally prominent in all, being weighted from twenty to eighty per cent. "Interest in avocations and recreations" is ignored by one and weighted by eight from five to twenty-five per cent. One is irked to the extent of five per cent by the economic and political discrimination against professional women, and another ten per cent; two ignore it, and the remaining five notice it but attach no weight to it. One owns the house in which she lives; three still have homes with relatives to which they return occasionally; three are able to "find home and friends anywhere," while one attempts to do so but confesses to a feeling of homelessness with a weighting of twenty-five per cent.

Asked in the questionnaire if they considered themselves better off than married women because of being "spared the pains and cares of motherhood," no one checked approval, while one distinctly negated that view. The persistence of sex attraction and the continuing possibility of marriage was checked affirmatively by all except two. One of the two said that she had not thought of marriage for ten years. One of the affirmatives gave no weight to this item under "present affective attitude" but the other six weighted it from five to twenty-five per cent. All except one expressed regret at having missed motherhood. Four did this on the basis of eugenics, one of these and four others because of fondness for children, and two of the four others also because of liking



housekeeping. One confessed to a feeling of inferiority because not selected in marriage, and one "because not sharing in all human experience." Three prize their freedom, and two of these and two others their economic independence. One makes no comparison with married women except to deny a feeling of superiority.

One of the women, on seeing the questionnaire, made this oral comment: "There are some pertinent questions which this questionnaire does not ask." And one put this note at the bottom of the paper:

Does your study omit or ignore the physical side of marriage—marriage for sex experience—not always revealed to woman, but frequently very forceful after thirty years of age?

The fact is that I refrained from asking certain questions because it seemed improb-

able that truthful answers to them would be forthcoming and because their presence in the questionnaire might prevent the return of any answers. One of the questionnaires returned with this note written on the back:

I believe it to be almost impossible to get an accurate estimate of these questions as few people will answer honestly even if they can which is doubtful.

Nevertheless, in spite of the omissions in the questionnaire and the incompleteness of some of the returns, and notwithstanding the uncertainty of those quantitative estimates, the results seem to me very significant regarding the lives of women of the class to which those nine women belong, and especially so on the half-dozen items which elicited testimony that was unanimous or nearly so.

## A COMPARISON OF MARRIAGE AGES OF CITY AND FARM-REARED COLLEGE MEN WHO HAVE ACHIEVED RECOGNITION IN THE FIELD OF AGRICULTURE

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

IT IS generally believed that country people marry earlier than do city people.<sup>1</sup> If this is true, it might be expected that country rearing would result in earlier marriage than would city rearing. Especially would this be true if the age of marriage were conditioned by atti-

tudes instilled during the early years of life.

A study of the marriage ages of farm and city-reared college men whose names appear in the 1925 issue of *Rus*, reveals the fact that country and city rearing did not result in a different marriage age for those studied. *Rus* is a directory containing biographical entries of 6,005 persons who have achieved recognition in the field of agriculture. Individuals are listed as having been reared in town, village, city and on the farm or ranch and various combinations of these. In order to get the maximum effect of rural environment and city industrialism, only farm-reared men were taken on the one hand and city-reared men on the other. There are comparatively

<sup>1</sup> John M. Gillette in his *Rural Sociology*, p. 101 states that, "Both males and females marry at an earlier age in country than in city," and that "... marriage often occurs at too early an age." Horace B. Hawthorn in *Sociology of Rural Life*, p. 142 states, "It is quite likely that, upon the whole, rural people tend to marry not only more, but also earlier than urban people." No attempt in this article is made to disprove such conclusions which are generally accepted. However, the data taken from *Rus* indicate that being reared in the city or on the farm does not affect the marriage age of the male leaders greatly.

few city-reared persons listed. Also, in order that the data might be more homogeneous, only the marriage ages of college men were studied.

The marriage age was found by subtracting the date of birth from the date of marriage. All of the 241 city-reared college men's marriage ages who are listed as having married at definite dates were used.

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF THE AVERAGES AND DEVIATIONS OF THE MARRIAGE AGES OF 241 CITY-REARED COLLEGE MEN WITH 241 FARM-REARED COLLEGE MEN AS COMPUTED FROM RUS

	CITY-REARED COLLEGE MEN	FARM-REARED COLLEGE MEN
Mean age of marriage.....	27.7	27.8
Median age of marriage...	27.0	27.0
Modal (bi-modal) age of marriage (age in paren- theses is smallest mode).	25.0 (27.0)	27.0 (25.0)
Standard deviation from mean in years.....	4.2	4.0
Coefficient of variation....	15.3%	14.4%

The same number of farm reared college men were selected at random for comparison. This random selection was performed, as the book was worked through page by page, by taking the marriage age of a farm-reared college man each time a city-reared college man's marriage age was taken. In every case a farm-reared college

man's marriage age was taken from the biographical entry which as nearly succeeded the city-reared person's marriage data as it was possible to have it. This distributed the sample throughout the book.

Table I compares the averages and deviations of marriage ages of the 241 farm-reared college men with those of the 241 city-reared college men.

The averages used reveal the fact that the marriage ages of city and farm-reared college men do not differ much. The averages are almost identical except in the case of the modes. Both the farm and city-reared college men's marriage ages cast themselves into bi-modal frequency polygons. The small disparity in the modes may be due to the fact that both men who have pursued only under-graduate college work and men who have been post-graduate students were included. It was necessary to include both because there were so few city-reared persons listed in the book. The same factor that is responsible for the bi-modal distribution may account for the slightly greater deviation in the case of city-reared college men.

At any rate, the study indicates that the difference between the marriage ages of city and farm reared college men is not significant. Other factors besides early environment condition the age of marriage.

## RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, program and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN AN INDIAN SETTLEMENT

JENNINGS J. RHYNE

#### THE PLACE AND PEOPLE

**T**HE Big Jim Band of the Absentee Shawnee Indians is a remnant of a once powerful tribe under the forceful leadership of Tecumseh. Now it is a subdued and tamed race living in small frame cottages and tilling little patches of ground scattered over the small but barren hillsides of central Oklahoma and yielding slowly and gradually to the demands of the white man's civilization. They were forcibly placed on a reservation in what is now eastern Cleveland County and western Pottawatomie County by the United States government in 1867. Later in 1891 when Oklahoma was being opened to white settlement and the Indian lands were being allotted severally to the individual Indians, each member of the Shawnees received his portion of the land. Today less than half of the original Shawnee reservation is owned by Indians so that it is a community of both a white and Indian population. Some of the whites are land owners, having received lands at the run for homesteads, or having purchased them of competent Indians or at sales of the lands of deceased Indians without heirs; others are there as tenants on Indian farms.

The holdings of the present Big Jim Band of the Shawnee Indians extend over an area of approximately nine square miles.

Within this area there are around 300 Indians. A map of the area on which has been plotted Indian and white holdings presents a somewhat motley appearance with Indian and white lands generally interspersed with a slight tendency for Indian lands to be contiguous. This structural arrangement in itself constitutes an experiment in community organization and communal relations, distinct and unique, in presenting a favorable opportunity for racial intermingling and in facilitating the assimilation process.

Since geographical conditions have some bearing upon the development of communal relations and community institutions, some attention will be given to topographical features and soil fertility. In the first place, the country is hilly, it being in the center of a hill country that extends north and south across the central part of the state for approximately 100 miles with an average width of about 30 miles. The soil is thin and badly eroded in direct contrast to the fertile rolling prairie lands extending east and west on either side of this hill country. The hillsides when not too badly eroded are covered with scrub oaks and other small undergrowth. It is in this more or less unattractive, infertile, and generally uninviting country that these Indians were placed by the United



States government. The impression one gains on passing through is not favorable to say the least.

#### GOVERNMENTAL PARTICIPATION

In a discussion of community organization a consideration of a people's participation or failure to participate in community institutions is an important essential. Especially is it important in a community made up of Indians and whites, for the Indian's conception of the rôle of the social institutions in the life of the individual varies considerably from that of the white man.

In matters of government the Shawnee Indians maintain for the most part a passive coöperation. The sheriff of the county stated that during the eight years since he has been in office not once has an Indian been brought in to court. On the contrary, the white population residing in the same territory has had a very different record, for it is generally known that most of the whites in the vicinity engage in making liquor to sell to both whites and Indians and on the whole cannot be said to be law-abiding. As a further evidence of the Indian's coöperation with the law is his request to the sheriff each year to send a deputy to maintain order at the Indians' annual dances and festivals. In passing, it may be added that whenever there has been any trouble at the dances, it has been with the whites and not with the Indians. For the past two years there has been no deputy sheriff in this township for, as the county sheriff said, no one in the township has been willing to undertake the job. This is significant as a clue to the type of white population residing in the community. Though the Indian is, as we have seen, law-abiding and desires and requests legal protection, he shows little active interest or participation in governmental matters. None of

the Indians have ever held a county office or have shown any desire to hold such an office, and there is little interest or participation in the voting privilege.

#### ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

The predominant economic activity of both Indians and whites in this area is agriculture. A large number of the Indians, however, refuse to do any farming. Whether their failure to take advantage of this sole economic opportunity is due to the poor soil or to the unwillingness of the Indian to do farm work matters little as far as economic organization is concerned. The fact remains that these Indians have not functioned as farmers in the particular area where they have been placed by the government. As one drives along the road or takes the narrow winding lane from the road through the scrub oaks to the Indian's abode and views the apparent run down condition of the farms, he is compelled to wonder how the Indian makes a living. This question is intensified when it is realized that this particular group of Indians has no steady source of income from the government. Lands leased to whites for farming purposes or an occasional sale of a deceased relative's lands constitute the only extra income of this group over and above what little they earn for themselves.

A factor which tends very materially to hinder any consistent economic activity is the Indian's love of leisure and of travel. Whenever there is a dance put on by any of the surrounding tribes, regardless of whether it is planting time or harvesting time, he locks the door of his home, gets out his old Ford touring car, and is on his way to the scene of action. He will camp around the dance ground sometimes as much as a week before the dance is to take place and probably for several days thereafter. Also his great love of visiting rela-

tives or friends for extended periods of time seriously interferes with the business of making a living. Furthermore, the presence of an increased number in the home only augments the difficulty of providing food for the family. Nevertheless, it has been noticed that however impoverished an Indian may be he never seems to resent or to regret the presence of his friends or acquaintances in the home.

The only remaining economic activity in the entire community is found in two stores run by white men. It is a common complaint that there are two prices at these stores, one for the Indians and one for the white people. It is generally conceded that the Indian is a poor business man and spends his money unwisely. When he goes to the store he buys an article, pays for it, buys another, pays for it and so on until all his money is gone. He is likely to squander it on cold drinks, cakes, candy, or can goods.

#### EDUCATIONAL FUNCTIONS

There is no Indian school maintained by the government in this area, though a few children attend government schools elsewhere. For the most part, however, the Indian children attend the schools provided by the county for white children. To compensate the county for the extra expense of instructing children of Indians, who pay no taxes, the Federal government pays the county for each Indian child 25 cents per day for each day's attendance. Of the five schools in the Shawnee Indian country four are one-teacher schools and one is a two-teacher school. In general, about one-fourth of the students enrolled in these five schools are Indian children.

The Shawnee Indian can be rather definitely put down on the side of opposition to education of his children. In cases where there is not active opposition to the school, there is an attitude of indifference

maintained on the part of Indian parents toward sending their children to school, so that when they do enroll they attend very irregularly. Due to this irregularity in attendance as well as to a failure to start to school at the proper age, most Indian children are over-age for their grades. It is rare that any Indian child of the group in question has reached the high school and as far as records show, not one has ever finished a high school course and entered college.

Aside from the traditional task of instructing the youth in the "three R's," the five schools in the Shawnee Indian country cease to function as community institutions. Poorly financed, with inadequately trained teachers, situated in an unprogressive community, and patronized by Indians and a low class of whites, the schools have not been effectively utilized as centers for the development of a community consciousness. However, the school probably is serving as an agent for bringing the youth of the two races nearer together than any other institution. Here Indian and white sit in the same classroom, study the same books, participate in the same games on the school playground, and are permitted and encouraged to participate on equal terms in all school activities. The Indians, however, show greater reluctance to entering the extra-curricula activities than white children. The most marked evidence of a degree of coöperation on the part of the Indians in school policies is the fact that one of the three board members of one of the schools is an Indian.

#### RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY

There is only one church in the entire area. This is a Friend's Mission established in 1898 for the Indians. Services are held regularly for the Indians who never attend. The Shawnees have

strongly and successfully resisted encroachments of the Christian religion except in so far as certain concepts have been unconsciously borrowed. So successfully have they warded off all efforts to educate them to accept Christianity that the mission pastor made the statement that "if it were not for the girl's parents he would have one convert." In other words, after 31 years of effort on the part of this mission and some earlier missionary attempts, the Christian doctrine has completely failed to make headway with this group of Indians.

Although the purely religious function of the mission appears to have broken down completely, the mission is probably furnishing the only substantial efforts along with and in coöperation with the Indian Service toward building up a community-mindedness among the Indians of the area. While the Indians strongly refuse to come to the church for religious services, they can be coaxed out to attend a talk at the mission on canning or poultry raising, a Christmas tree and entertainment, or some other activity closely tied up with their life experiences.

#### EFFORTS AT ORGANIZATION

The previous résumé of the major life activities of the group of Indians under question has brought out rather definitely the almost complete lack of any community spirit or any agency that may be said to be functioning in the community as a whole. In fact, in the first place, the district in which the Shawnee Indians are located cannot be classified as a community in the more precise meaning of the term for there are no common ties that bind the people together.

Though attempts have been made and plans have been instituted in the effort to achieve greater coöperation and commun-

ity solidarity they have for the most part been unsuccessful. The missionary has been especially active in promoting community enterprises for bringing together whites and Indians whenever possible. In coöperation with the government agency and the missionary, the home and farm demonstration agents of the county have attempted to bring the two races together through club work and other community projects. Though on the whole unsuccessful as far as immediate results are concerned, they may be viewed as first steps in the assimilation process which is little by little fusing the cultures of Indian and white.

Aside from the factors which usually hinder community organization in any rural community, there are, as may be readily seen from the above account, other obstacles in the way of the achievement of any degree of community solidarity in this area. It is a settlement composed of two distinct groups with little in common. Furthermore, intermarriage with whites has not hastened the assimilation process as is true of certain other tribes of Oklahoma. As a matter of fact, at the present time there is only one case of intermarriage among the entire group of the Big Jim Band of Indians. In this case even, one observes the unmistakable domination of the Indian tradition and culture as manifested in the children and in the home life in general.

This conflict of cultures manifests itself in every phase of activity whether economic, educational, religious, governmental, or social. It stands out as the major difficulty in the way of any appreciable organization of the interests of the people residing in this area.

It cannot be said, however, that the Indian is essentially non-coöperative for he enters into those activities which are primarily Indian culture traits such as the



annual dances and festivals with a zeal and enthusiasm seldom equalled by the white man. Here is found a solidarity and spirit of coöperation which precludes any fear that his undertaking will not be a success.

There are indications that the whites would maintain a greater coöperation with the Indians should they seem so

inclined to accept more friendly relations. However that may be, the significant fact is that the Shawnee is intensely proud of his tribal traditions and has rigidly kept himself aloof from the whites. He has little desire to mingle, for he sees in the mingling process a lurking danger that eventually will spell disaster for his cherished traditions.

## THE NEW MOBILITY AND THE COASTAL ISLAND

LEE M. BROOKS

### THE ISLANDS

**M**OBILITY as here employed stands for the territorial circulation of people and also for the visitation of outsiders whose coming has been facilitated by the newer aids to travel. During the last two or three decades the coastal island has been increasingly the beneficiary of a new mobility made possible chiefly through the use of the internal combustion engine. This invention has led to the building of bridges and roads, the operation of ferries, and the individual ownership of power boats and automobiles. Such lately developed freedom of movement is important in considering the various aspects of community health in particular and of community organization in general.

Our Atlantic coast is fringed and dotted with two types of islands inhabited the year round by fisher people and government employees, and in some cases visited by vacationists and seasonal sportsmen. One type of island is the sandbar of the South; the other type, the rocky extrusion of the North. The present discussion will center around Hatteras, Ocracoke, and Harkers Island of North Carolina, and Matinicus and Outer Long Island off the coast of Maine. Since the people them-

selves are much alike from the cultural standpoint, the two regions are used because of their topographic dissimilarity and consequently somewhat different details of mobility.

The southern islands are surrounded by shallow waters which are freely navigable only by vessels of slight draft. Passenger and excursion craft so common in the North are not found in the Carolina sounds. Direct intercommunity contacts are achieved, however, by means of freight ships and small gasoline motor boats among which are those used for the daily mail service. Vehicular ferries and low-cost wooden bridges, some of which have only recently been put into operation, also have made possible the more or less direct connection of sandbar islands with the mainland highways. Although no roads are to be found on the long stretch of banks that extend from Virginia southward, hundreds of automobiles are daily in use by inhabitants and outsiders who have gained skill in driving through soft sand and on the "wash." Communities averaging about four hundred people are located every ten to twelve miles. On some of these southern islands the permanent location of government stations and their wire connections to the outside

world, along with the seasonal presence of sportsmen and vacationists, have contributed to what Sorokin would designate as "an increase of horizontal mobility in double proportion."<sup>1</sup>

The rocky islands of Maine are set in deep water navigable for larger ships. These, however, touch only at points of importance to the business man and summer people, thus leaving many islands quite isolated, some of which are twenty miles from mainland. Bridges, ferries, and automobiles are not practicable except on peninsulas and inshore islands. Until the advent of the motor boat, the more distant communities such as Matinicus and Outer Long Island, each with their population for the past thirty years ranging from 175 to 150, were extremely inaccessible. Today they are without regular connection with the mainland except for the two or three trips weekly by the mail boat. Nor do these two islands have any telephone or telegraph since they are without government stations of any sort. In these Maine waters one important agency contributing to mobility and community organization, and without a parallel elsewhere on the coast so far as is known, is a privately supported undenominational seacoast mission. For twenty-five years its steamer and corps of workers have helped many islands in their emergencies and by initiating various programs for local improvement.

<sup>1</sup> P. Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, p. 389 "A more intensive and more rapid circulation of social things and values means practically the same thing that a more intensive circulation of individuals means. Interpenetration of the former is a substitute for territorial interpenetration of the latter. If a definite custom from one social group penetrates into another, this is in a sense equivalent to a penetration of the members of the first group into the second . . . an increase of horizontal mobility in double proportion."

#### MOBILITY AND HEALTH

Quicker and easier access to islands has made possible a more satisfactory inspection service which has resulted in better health and sanitation. For example, typhoid in the North and hookworm in the South have been greatly reduced in recent years. Clinics for the correction of defects in children have lately been more frequently provided either on the islands or at the nearest mainland points. Some beginnings have been made in connection with an improved diet through the activities of the seacoast mission, the home demonstration agent, and the school.

So far as the distribution of physicians is concerned the coastal island is somewhat more fortunate than it was prior to the motor age. Nevertheless, the special seriousness of acute disorders is indicated by the fact that the Maine Seacoast Mission has helped save as many as eight cases of ruptured appendix in about a year's time. Some of the northern islands have resident physicians largely because of the support of wealthy summer colonies. North Haven, Swans Island, and Islesboro pay bonuses of \$1,000, \$2,000, and \$4,000 respectively for their physicians. The southern banks islands are not so well served since they do not lure wealthy people from other sections. At Hatteras there is one physician who reaches by automobile several communities within the forty miles extending northward. Just to the south, however, on a twenty mile stretch including Ocracoke with its 600 people, the situation is revealed by a news item of November 15, 1929 which stated that during the past few months, (since the death of an old-school, inactive government doctor) some of their fatal illnesses might have been prevented had a doctor been within timely call rather than a day's journey distant. One citizen

forthwith asked: "Why can't we unite our two Methodist churches, raise the one minister's salary, and use the rest as a bonus to induce a doctor to locate here?" On December 1, 1929 a physician agreed to take up his residence in Ocracoke immediately. The citizens as a whole have given their assurance that the incoming physician shall not want for anything, and that he shall have a guaranteed income annually regardless of the health of the people.

#### TRAVEL

Travel beyond local scenes is exceptional among the adult fisher folk, especially the women, some of whom do not go to the mainland for years, and then only to do a little shopping or to receive medical aid. In the North it is rather common for obstetrical cases to be cared for on the mainland. Islands similarly situated may differ in this connection, however. For example, during three recent years six of the eight births to Matinicus mothers were attended on the mainland or by a visiting physician. The other two cases appear to have been emergencies where midwifery was employed. On the other hand, Outer Long Island for the same years records only four out of ten births assisted by physicians. As for the southern islands ninety-seven per cent of the births are attended by midwives, which means comparatively fewer visits to or by the physician and hence fewer extra-community contacts. (Will the people of Ocracoke use the new doctor in child-birth cases? Their record for the last twelve years is 144 births, only four of which were attended by a physician.) The men of these islands move about more freely than the women. The fishermen, even those who own automobiles are not inclined, however, to travel very far inland, and the

government employees generally are restricted by short vacations. As for the children, few there are who have not travelled to some more or less distant mainland point. Of thirty questioned in this connection on a southern island, all had been across the sound and most of them had been farther inland than their mothers had yet journeyed.

#### RELIGION AND EDUCATION

In addition to the movement of the people themselves, other mobility factors are indicative of the static or dynamic condition which may characterize a given community. What part is played by religious and educational agencies, by the salesman, the sportsman, and the vacationist, by the bootlegger and newspaper writer?

The larger island communities of the North have a church but seldom a minister in regular charge. It is customary whenever the mission steamer arrives to hold a service in the church that evening. Both Matinicus and Outer Long Island, each with about forty families, are without religious leadership except that provided through the seacoast mission. The southern islands tend to be over-churched, Ocracoke and Harkers Island both maintaining church groups of the Northern and Southern Methodist persuasion. The degree of alertness of these communities seems to be reflected in the type and condition of the church building, and in the attendance, singing, and general response of the people. Denominational officials such as field secretaries and presiding elders make more frequent contact with these isolated places than in the days of slow transportation.

Educational interest and ambition of parents and children seem to be correlated with the extent to which vitalizing con-



tacts have been encouraged with outside cultural influences. In place of the former travelling teacher, Maine now brings the children of government employees to the mainland where part of their board is paid by the state. More island children in general are attending the onshore schools of Maine than ever before, according to educational authorities. An investigation might reveal as a partial explanation of Maine's decreasing island population, the desire for better school facilities. For example, one island mother writes: "One of my daughters is going to high school in Rockland and I have another going next year." Six months later this family moves to Rockland where, to use the mother's expression, "it is better for the children. They can go to school and church and a lot of things they could not have on the island." In the South, where for many years the island population has been increasing, it is to be noted that more students in general and more girls proportionately than was true a decade ago, are going to mainland schools for higher education. From Hatteras and Ocracoke in the five year period 1919-1923, an average of one girl yearly attended a popular onshore academy, but for the next five years the average was thirteen each year. Some of these girls openly declare that they do not intend to go back home to rear large families. This attitude of mind is in contrast with the extreme nostalgia formerly so common, an affliction which seems to vary directly in its intensity with the degree of home-community isolation from which the child comes. Because of the new mobility a freer cultural interchange has taken place, and the child now away from his home surroundings is not so likely to find himself in a culture so foreign to that of his home setting.

#### INFLUENCE OF VACATIONISTS

The coming of the vacationist and sportsman has had a considerable influence on the community life of many islands, as a former reference to island doctors in Maine has indicated. In the South, an island such as Ocracoke sees many outsiders, summer residents and visitors, and in the fall, the hunter and sport fisherman. The presence of these people in recent years has necessitated the hotel provision, small but comfortable, now available. On the other hand, Harkers Island,—six miles long, 1,200 population, lying close to Beaufort on the mainland and too far in from the open ocean to attract sportsmen,—is not often visited except by salesmen interested in its dozen little stores. It has until recently been static as to culture but active, as it still is, in its fecundity. Smaller catches of fish and a multiplying population have forced upon some of the citizens a more dynamic intra- and extra-community attitude. The imported young school principal and his teachers have been largely instrumental in this change, rather than the presence of other outsiders. The Harkers Island columnist expresses the newer hospitality thus: "The new house is a real and fine building which will be a creditable aspect to our community as well as bringing strangers down here among us. We want to book up with two others so as to keep them here which we will if they don't leave in a hurry. No place so hard to get away from as this is." Three summer vacationists have lately built homes in this isolated community, which, though off the path of local and tourist travel, is now the possessor of six miles of good oyster-shell road, a school bus, and a motor ferry to the mainland. Natives and vacationists alike are now actively working for a bridge to link them with Beaufort and Cape Lookout.

## BOOTLEGGER, POLITICIAN AND FEATURE WRITER

The bootlegger and the politician are among the few others who call on the islands either regularly or occasionally. They stimulate or they depress according to the temper of groups within the community. Island citizens claim they know the identity of the "polluters of youth" as they sometimes call the bootleggers, but they seem powerless to produce sufficient community opposition to block the traffic at the end of the week. The politician awakens a discussion of extra-community affairs; he irritates some and amuses many especially when he speaks with condescension and sanguine prophecy.

The place of the feature article writer and the newspaper in general is one of considerable influence. The following is the remonstrance of a well educated young store-keeper:

"The last newspaper writer that came down here had me conduct her over the island, and you can believe me, I told her just as little as I could. She had already written a couple of articles that misrepresented us. Why is it that they come and jump on the unusual, or deliberately make stuff up? They seem to have an eagle eye for the queer and then play that up as though it stood for the whole community."

One feature writer may describe a community as a tiny modern Utopia, and another look upon it as a place where

"people live in the dark and children cry for the light—the light that never comes, the dawn that never breaks." Happily the present mobility makes it possible for better understanding of the actual life in these remote communities and for less dependence upon the misleading article. The newspaper can be a means of great assistance to the isolated community as has already been shown in connection with the doctor's coming to Ocracoke. He was obtained as a result of coöperation among newspaper editors in North Carolina where the editorials and other pertinent items actually amounted to community want-ads.

## CONCLUSION

That spatial isolation is passing is an oft expressed truism. Good roads and the gasoline motor, along with communication by wire and radio, have been fundamental in breaking down isolating barriers and in providing broader social contacts. The child, the vehicle of traditional culture and so long the victim of social circumstance, is becoming more than ever before the beneficiary of this new mobility and of the democratic ideals of education. Upon what the enforced health laws, the school, and the church provide for him in the "unequal places" will depend his further release from that isolation which hinders his fullest personal and social development.

## GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspects of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### CONSTRUCTIVE DISSENT FROM PRESENT POLITICAL DEGRADATION

C. H. WHELDEN, JR.

#### I

WHEN a people undertakes to govern itself, that people assumes an inescapable collective duty.

The duty consists in safeguarding and promoting the general welfare. Within the people there is commonly a division of opinion as to what constitutes the general welfare, or at least as to what means are most desirable and efficient for its protection and enhancement.

The division lies primarily between those persons who see the general welfare as the indirect sharing by the many in the especially nurtured benefits of the few, and those persons who hold the vision of directly cultivated benefits for the many to be shared proportionately by the few. The division lies, also, between those persons believing in the compulsory enactment of welfare out of superior wisdom, and those anticipating a voluntary realization of welfare out of the commonly developing wisdom. The division lies, again, between persons who would fit all things present into the molds of a perfect past, and persons who would fashion new molds, with guidance from the old designs, to fit things present and shape them for a more perfect future.

The divided opinions in respect of the

people's collective duty become articulate and effective for the exercise of that duty through the instrumentality of political parties. A party remains an effective instrument only so long as its members are unified in the cleavage of opinions, so long as adherence is maintained to the social principles arising from those opinions, and so long as the leaders of the party are enjoined to sponsor political policies designed to foster those principles embedded in the collective opinion of the party. The policies of a party may change, must change, as conditions alter. The principles of a living party cannot change except in slow degree with the gradual growth of social wisdom in its members.

If the self-governing people loses its consciousness of the collective duty, there will be no popular opinions in respect of the nature of that duty, and popular sovereignty will vanish into anarchy or despotism. A political party is then an anomaly. If consciousness of the collective duty is retained but the adherents of respective parties become divided among themselves as to the implications of that duty, the cleavage in opinions in respect of the general welfare becomes blurred. The opinions thereby fall inarticulate and ineffective, the social principles arising



from those opinions are neglected or forgotten for they can no longer serve as the basis for unified action, and the bodies called parties have no policies but the opportunism of their leaders. The parties may continue for a while their formal existences but they are no longer instruments to a socially valuable end. The members of a party may be held together by an embalming past, but there is no living organism. It becomes inevitable that new parties shall be established.

The major political parties in the United States today exist as formal repositories of misunderstood traditions and as the instruments of selfish opportunism. The condition arises from the sweeping of new opinions across old boundaries. Popular dissatisfaction with the existing political order reveals that the people has retained its consciousness of the duty of its sovereignty. The cleavage in opinions as to the nature of that duty and the manner of its fulfillment remains with the people.

The persistence of this cleavage in opinions is made the more evident by the anxiety of numbers of so-called political leaders to render lip-service to divergent social principles and to straddle safely on all major problems of political policy. The people of the United States today numbers persons who see the general welfare as the direct sharing by the many in the specially nurtured benefits of the few, those who believe in the compulsory enactment of welfare out of superior wisdom, those who would fit all things present into the molds of a perfect past. The people of the United States today also numbers persons who hold the vision of the general welfare as directly cultivated benefits for the many to be shared proportionately by the few, those who anticipate a voluntary realization of welfare out of the commonly developing wisdom of the people, and those who would fashion new

social molds, with guidance from the old designs, to fit things present and shape them for a more perfect future.

The present difficulty lies in the inarticulateness of popular opinions. The members of each of the major parties in the United States are today divided among themselves in respect of their political opinions. The condition lingers and the corrective of a new alignment of political forces is delayed because of the persistent sparks of party-mythology kept alive by the too prevalent vagueness in political opinions. The differing opinions exist but have become blurred by lack of effective expression. The present danger is that the disuse of popular opinions may lead to a progressive loss of consciousness of the collective duty until the people falls finally into anarchistic sectionalism. A crystallization of opinions is required, a clear statement of principles, an enunciation of the social philosophies now vaguely held, an outline of political policies designed to foster the principles which are embedded in each social philosophy reflected by the divergent opinions of the people as to its collective duty concerning the general welfare. A new political alignment would then follow naturally.

## II

There is a certain social philosophy broadly implied in the opinions held, albeit indistinctly, by those persons who tend to give allegiance to the principles that the general welfare is a matter of directly cultivated benefits for the many, that the improvement of the general welfare develops properly from general growth in social wisdom, and that the past offers merely a background of experience against which there may be seen in correct perspective the outlines of an anticipated future. This philosophy, with its attendant principles, awaits the affirmative

adherence of those persons who now believe, but with uncertainty; awaits the grouping of such persons into a conscious political organization, endowed with life by the common adherence to the single philosophy. The sharpening of the beliefs through the clear statement of the philosophy should lead to the rise of the political organization or party which is necessary to render these beliefs articulate and effective in the attempt of the people to discharge its collective self-governing duty.

This social philosophy, implied broadly in the opinions on what might be termed the Liberal, or Democratic, or Progressive side of the cleavage of opinions in the United States today, proceeds from the proposition that the duties of a free, human individual transcend and include his rights. Rights are the concern of a bound individual, as to how his binding may be conditioned; duties are the concern of a free individual, as to how his freedom may be realized most fully and may be justified through nature in its realization. He most realizes his freedom who accepts its duties most fully, for the acceptance of duty, granted that the duty be natural, and not imposed by human force, implies command. The renunciation of duty implies servitude or dependence. Man is, to be sure, a servant of nature, but he is, more importantly, as an intelligent being, a commander in nature with all the duties of command.

As a free, because intelligent, individual in nature, man can most realize his freedom and justify its realization in nature only by fulfilling the natural objectives of his quality of intelligence. The quality of intelligence is a three-fold power. First, it is the power of using past experience and transmitted knowledge to foresee the effects of present acts and the results of present tendencies. Second, it is the

power of experiencing states of more and less happiness, but more, of projecting the realization of such experiences into the future and into the consciousness of other fellow beings in association with the conceptual images of the stimulating conditions. Third, it is the power of altering the environment so that more happiness rather than less may result.

The whole duty of man is, through the exercise of his intelligence, the pursuit of happiness—for his fellowmen. Only thus can he achieve his own happiness ultimately in the realization of a purpose fulfilled through the freely acting spirit. The whole duty of man is to make the world a happier place for his having been in it. Happiness is purely subjective and individual; it lies in the untrammelled spiritual development of the individual, not with self as a goal—for there waits satiety or disillusionment—but with the goal of best serving the ideal of completely equalized opportunities for spiritual growth in all men. The measures of spiritual growth are self-knowledge, self-control, and self-respect, and also are they, in the light of these first three, understanding, appreciation, and sympathy in human relationships.

For all men there must be sought a measure of physical comfort and leisure that the spirit may be free but not such an excessive measure that the spirit becomes drugged; an open field of sympathetic understanding that the spirit may grow in confidence; an equality of opportunity in every phase of adjustment to the environment that the spirit may neither fester nor become paralyzed with injustice; complete liberty of mental contact that the spirit may develop naturally and reasonably rather than perversely under the force of repression. All this for all men and therefore for man. It is the religion of the soul of man in nature.

Mental and spiritual independence of the individual is rationally natural and requires as its attendant a considerable measure of physical freedom. It is vital to a democratic society where the individuals collectively are sovereign. The first postulate of a successful democracy is the complete freedom of the individual in his mental and spiritual development of the art of living for the general happiness of mankind. There is, of course, the necessary and natural reservation to this freedom that under it no individual may interfere in the same freedom of others, may attempt to regulate for others the course of development, may inject into this individualistic sphere any scale of values which he has deemed universal. Suppression, censorship, and prohibition in this individualistic field is the negation of all freedom and breeds regard for rights rather than duties. The freedom induces sanity and reasoned change; the suppression breeds neurotic revolt.

The reservation to individual freedom of action rests upon the obvious solidarity of societal interests. Societal interests spring from the increased power given by coöperative activity for the control of environmental conditions and for the improvement in the general adjustment of man to the environment. Every such improvement in control and adjustment makes man physically less conditioned by his environment and thereby more free in his spiritual development. The solidarity of such societal interests is obvious since ego-centric excess in free activity is patently absurd when generalized, that is, when each individual carries to excess the exercise of his freedom at the expense of all other individuals.

There is implied, therefore, an exercise of implicit or explicit control to keep all activities harmonious with the common interests, to safeguard to each individual

his freedom for spiritual development under conditions of equal opportunity. The control would be entirely implicit, arising spontaneously from the acceptance by individuals of the duties of their freedom, if all men had a full measure of self-knowledge and of social sympathy. It would be a generalized self-control. Mankind's growth in wisdom is slow, however, and is retarded by the apparent glories of immediate selfishness, and the misconceptions of personal importance. Existing at the same time, therefore, are varying degrees of knowledge, varying degrees of realization of social obligations, varying degrees of consciousness of the ultimate importance of the long-run and the other man.

At any actual moment in the present age of man an explicit control accordingly becomes necessary in corresponding degrees. Such control is effective only when it arises from the then existing typical level of collective opinion in the society. The typical level of collective opinion should be recognized as more than a mere majority of opinions. If the control attempts to effect a greater reservation in individual freedom than typical opinion is prepared to accept, it will be more than ineffective for it will breed the revulsion of feeling common to all attempts at suppression. Suppression means an arbitrarily imposed obligation beyond the limits of the commonly recognized and accepted duties of free individuals. The control should not be allowed to fall short of that degree of reservation in individual freedom which typical opinion is prepared to accept, for then the fullest possible approach to the ideal of an entirely implicit control, or a generalized self-control of socially conscious free individuals, is not being realized.

The degree of reservation acceptable to typical opinion becomes greater with



the painfully slow but steady growth in mankind of command over its intelligence, with the growth in mankind of self-knowledge, self-control, self-respect, human understanding and appreciation, and social sympathy. Its increase may be aided by example and by precept. Its next increase is made easier and more rapid with every preceding gain. Never can it be advanced but always will it be turned definitely backward by any forceful imposition however noble in its conception.

To foster and preserve the solidarity of their societal interests, free individuals support organization in political societies or governments. Government is an instrument of social control to assist the individual in the accomplishment of his duties. It has in itself no duty except to carry out the collective will of the individuals in its society. It has in itself no rights except in so far as they are given to it collectively by the individuals in its society to permit it to accomplish its collectively appointed task.

The duty imposed by free individuals upon their political government, that is, upon the chief social agency of control, is twofold only. The duty is, first, to maintain in full and in behalf of the universal freedom those reservations to individual freedom which are sustained by the existing typical level of collective opinion. Such maintenance means sustaining, as far as possible, the effective freedom of the mental and spiritual spheres of life, and means accomplishing, as far as possible, the equalization and improvement of opportunities for physical adjustment to the environment. The duty is, second, in the field of inter-political or inter-societal relationships to foster understanding, appreciation, and sympathy and to cooperate fully in the promotion of those inter-societal reservations to societal freedom which are vital to the continuance and

growth of the success of individual men, intelligent and free, in realizing the possibilities of their own characters.

### III

The philosophy may be summarized again in its three leading principles of direct political significance. The general welfare lies in the directly inculcated interests of the many as individual free beings. The maintenance and improvement of the general welfare comes necessarily from the common development of social wisdom among free men. The goal of man is a happier future, to be approached in freedom from any trammels of the past, but with growing wisdom out of the experience of the past.

The principles of the philosophy necessarily suggest certain immediate political policies which would be sponsored and supported by the believers in this philosophy in the United States today. They are policies which would be sponsored articulately and supported effectively if those believers were to release themselves from present ambiguous political affiliations and organize themselves in their natural unanimity of belief.

Among such policies these following would be found:

#### I-6. ADJUSTMENT OF THE ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT IN AID OF THE INDIVIDUAL'S PROPER FREEDOM

1. No natural resources now controlled by the national government should be alienated to private control nor opened to private exploitation, but all such resources should be held as a public heritage and developed, in some cases by closely regulated private operation, in the direct, not indirect, public interest. The same principal should apply to natural resources controlled by the government of a State, but in no event should any part of the

national domain be ceded or otherwise transferred to the control of any State without a guarantee from the State that this principle will be applied to the domain thus transferred.

2. Although competition in modern business is more and more taking on the character of coöperative effort within each line of activity to secure a common profitable adjustment to the controlling requirements of consumers, and although such a movement should be accorded every encouragement, there must, nevertheless, be vigorous and unceasing social control, in the interests of universally equalized opportunities, wherever our financial age concentrates economic power in the hands of the few and wherever no check to the social misuse of that power for excessive acquisition is afforded by the elasticity of consumers' requirements or the relative strength of bargainers' abilities. Mediation in the labor-market should be extended from its present nucleus in the field of transportation. The powers of the Federal Trade Commission should be augmented and strengthened, and similar commissions, as consumers' tribunes, should be established by the States. There should be definitive federal control over the financial operations of public-utility holding companies as part of a general control of "utilities" by a reorganized Federal Power Commission and by State commissions.

3. The customs tariff may be used guardedly for purposes of revenue, but must not be used for the purpose of granting special benefits to particular groups of the people on the theory that such special benefits are indirectly translated into general benefits. The largest general benefit lies ultimately in unhampered access to all markets. No special protection or privilege in any form shall be granted to any particular field of private economic ac-

tivity. The removal of protective duties must be, of course, a gradual process occupying at least a decade. International machinery for the disposition of cases of "unfair competition" in foreign trade must ultimately be established.

4. The federal tax on incomes should be simplified, retaining the principle of progressive rates, but redefining net income in a manner more consistent with economic facts. The principle of curtailing by taxation the privilege of inheritance should be gradually extended in application. The whole system of taxation should be made consistent with the principle of the equalization of human opportunities and should seek to impose its necessary burden in a manner designed to require the smallest amount of real economic sacrifice.

5. To safeguard the economic position of the individual in the interest of his proper freedom, the federal government should initiate a model system of unemployment insurance and accident insurance compulsory upon every employer of labor, to be applied by each State individually as its people sees fit, and similarly a model system of voluntary and contributory retirement insurance for all individuals whose incomes are principally in the general form of wages, salaries, or net returns from the individual conduct of a business or profession.

6. Along lines similar to the United States Geological Survey, there should be established the "United States Economic Survey" for the purpose of studying the resources of labor, of natural capital, and of created capital, with the further duty of advising as to their most effective employment in the light of domestic and foreign economic conditions and tendencies. Such an activity, designed to facilitate the development of the economic environment in a manner most beneficial to the general welfare, would incidentally

provide a basis for reaching final answers to the problems of unemployment and farm-relief in so far as other measures had not already alleviated the conditions involved.

7-12. ADJUSTMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT IN AID OF THE PROPER FREEDOM OF INDIVIDUALS OF WHATEVER NATIONALITY

7. The Pan-American Congress should be organized upon a basis of equality for all nations of the American Hemisphere and the Monroe Doctrine should be entrusted to the Congress for interpretation and application as a Pan-American Doctrine. The freedom of the individual is best safeguarded by inter-societal co-operation.

8. For the purpose of most fully promoting inter-societal coöperation in the interest of every human individual, the United States should declare its adherence to the World Court. The question of joining the present League of Nations should be held open until such time as the League has clearly demonstrated its will and power for peace.

9. The government of the United States should act upon the realization that it is beneath the dignity of a free people to refuse longer to recognize the established government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

10. The government of the United States should formally renounce the doctrine that the persons and property of its nationals, wherever located, are a part of the national domain to be protected by the armed forces of the United States. It may be recognized that the voluntary assumption of obvious risks entitles no individual to unusual protection from the results of his own free action.

11. The doctrine of the right of intervention in the affairs of another nation or

another people is not to be assumed by the United States acting independently of the Pan-American Congress or other society of nations. Inter-societal restrictions on the freedom of activity of any people can be properly and usefully applied only as they are approved by the typical level of opinions throughout the societies. As a corollary of this principle, all insular territories now held subject to the authority or dominating control of the United States should be made completely independent as soon as their integrity against any other foreign domination or control, not completely of their own choosing can be guaranteed to them by a society of nations.

12. The military and naval establishments of the United States should be reduced immediately to the level of a small, mobile, and fully maintained police force. The units of the Reserve Officers Training Corps and the Citizens Military Training Camps should be abandoned. Such establishments dissipate too large a part of economic resources, retard the proper mental and spiritual development of free individuals, and serve as an incentive to conflict rather than to societal coöperation in the interests of the free development of all human individuals.

13-14. ADJUSTMENT OF POSITIVE DOMESTIC ENCROACHMENTS ON THE PROPER FREEDOM OF INDIVIDUALS

13. The Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States (Prohibition) should be amended by insertion, after the words "is hereby prohibited," of the clause "except as jointly authorized by the federal government and the government of the State within which the manufacture, sale, or transportation is to occur." Enforcement statutes under the Eighteenth Amendment should be altered to permit, under close regulation or direct government control, the manufacture, sale,



and transportation of intoxicating beverages of any alcoholic content. The Amendment and attendant legislation in present form are intended to prohibit to the whole people the consumption of a specific class of commodities in wide demand among the people; as such, these measures are contrary to the proper duty of government and constitute an infringement of the proper freedom of individuals. Such enactments unsupported by typical opinion among the people, are never to be incorporated in the "law of the land." Even a majority of individuals, out of what may be superior wisdom, cannot successfully by legislation require all individuals to conform to any arbitrary standard of conduct or morality; the proper, and therefore effective, limits to individual freedom are determined solely by the broadly typical level of individual opinions arising from the existing degree of development of general wisdom. Typical opinion within local areas may permit effective regional prohibitions.

14. The freedom of speech and the freedom of assembly shall be inviolate. Any interference with such freedom by any agency of government or any failure by any agency of government to protect such freedom shall be evidence of malfeasance in office. There shall be no censorship of the written or spoken word except in the case of pornography plainly intended to pander to ignorance or perversion. There shall be no restrictions upon the duty of every free individual to express any opinion he may hold in criticism of the government, the political system, or the existing social order. Exhortation to violent interference with the freedom of others is always a misdemeanor, but it is not to be considered a crime in the absence of conspiracy or of the imminence of an overt act.

#### 15-18. POLITICAL RE-ORGANIZATION TO SECURE A GREATER EFFECTIVENESS FOR THE OPINIONS OF FREE INDIVIDUALS

15. In order to curtail the influence of sectionalism and the localized interests thereby emphasized, to make more sure that the upper house of Congress shall be composed of "ambassadors of principles" rather than of "delegates of regions," the Senate of the United States should be made up of some number of individuals, say fifty, elected in the nation-at-large, one-half in every four years, according to the precedence of all candidates in order of total popular votes, but with the representation of minority opinions secured through the application of a system of preferential or cumulative voting.

16. In order to avoid so far as possible in the national government the expression of narrow selfish interests and to secure the representation of broader popular reactions to the problems of government, the members of the House of Representatives in Congress should be elected, as a whole in every four years, from each of the several states in proportion to the registered voting population of the respective States, but within each State the delegation of representatives should be elected at-large with the representation of minority opinions within the State secured through the application of a system of preferential or cumulative voting. The membership of the House of Representatives should be reduced to a number of not more than three hundred in order to make it more effective in its representation of popular opinions and less bound by those limiting rules on procedure and debate which are necessary in a larger body.

17. In order to give the earliest possible effect to the expressed opinions and desires of the people, the President and the members of both Houses of Congress should

assume office within one month after election.

18. For the purpose of advising the federal government, when necessary, as to the state of popular opinion on questions of national policy, there should be established a carefully safe-guarded procedure, to be used not oftener than once in any two years, for the taking of a popular referendum on such questions. The procedure should be so designed as to permit the expression of gradations of

opinion rather than the mere expression of assent or dissent upon a particular phrasing of a question. Only in the event that some such proportion as eighty per cent of all registered voters express approval of any positive phase of a question of national policy should an immediate, resulting action by the government be held obligatory. The whole procedure of the referendum should be controlled by the two Houses of Congress acting through a joint committee.

## A WELL-GOVERNED COUNTY

EDWARD A. TERRY

**E**VEN in a dark continent like county government, there are many bright spots. Washington county in the Mississippi Delta proves that capable men can effectively and efficiently operate an antique and cumbersome system. This county so conducts its affairs that its people enjoy a good government and a diminishing tax rate.

In 1919, the clerk to the board of supervisors decided that the county could operate its affairs on a budget. The idea was new. The board of supervisors saw the similarity between the county and a public service corporation and were convinced that the county could be operated upon similar principles. The Mississippi law gives the board of supervisors authority to regulate the financial policies of the county. The budget system was planned and put into operation.

As a first step the clerk gathered the expenditures for the preceding year by departments in minute detail. He estimated the financial needs for all departments for the coming year. He made up a detail of the revenue for the preceding year. He estimated the revenue for the coming year.

All these, he compiled into an intelligible booklet and placed in the hands of the supervisors. He worked out the tax rates necessary to meet the proposed expenditures, these he also turned over to the board of supervisors. The board took time to study the clerk's figures. The budget was placed at his estimates. The expenditures were carried out according to the budget and the year was closed with a small surplus.

One year under the budget system convinced the board of supervisors that a county could operate upon business principles. The tax rate for general county purposes and roads was ten mills on each dollar's valuation. After a continued use of the system, the rate is now two mills. When the levy for 1930 taxes is set, there will be no levy of this kind. Before the system was inaugurated, the county paid its bills in the same slow fashion common in general, to counties everywhere. Now all bills are paid on the first of the month and the county receives the same discounts allowed other large corporations for the prompt payment of bills.

The operation of the budget system was

so successful in this county that the Mississippi legislature decided that all counties in the state should use the budget system. But Washington county was not satisfied to use only one of the better business methods. Every department of the county was studied and plans were put forward to make each office operate to the best interests of the citizenry.

Most of the county needed drainage ditches. A drainage commission was appointed. This commission was composed of citizens who understood the work before them. A skilled drainage engineer was employed. A drainage system was planned. The digging and the maintenance of the ditches was placed in the hands of the engineer. The drainage board has a permanent organization. The engineer keeps a crew constantly at work improving and bettering the system.

The soil of the Mississippi delta is unsuited to road building. During wet seasons, travel on unsurfaced roads is impossible with almost any type of vehicle. A system of permanent all-weather roads was planned by a road commission appointed by the board of supervisors. Here again the work was placed under the supervision of a skilled engineer. The road building program, as planned, called for the expenditure of a million dollars. This money was to be raised through bond issues. The board of supervisors and the road commission showed the people the road needs of the county and how the program, as planned, would fill this need. The people voted the necessary bond issues. When the building was complete the road commission rendered the board of supervisors a detailed statement of the expenditure of this money.

The increased use of automotive vehicles made this road system inadequate for the needs of the people. A new road commission was appointed by the supervisors.

After a study of the county, the new commission designed a system of all-weather roads opening up every part of the county. Every plantation is to be within three miles of a permanent road. A million dollar bond issue was necessary before this plan could be carried out. The facts were presented to the people. The bond issue was carried by a large majority. When this road system is complete the county will be able to reduce its road maintenance expenditure by more than one-half.

When the board of supervisors was ready to issue these bonds, the bond market was not favorable. The county had received a premium and a good interest rate on all other county bonds. The board deferred the sale of the road bonds until the market was more favorable. The county has never defaulted bond or interest payment and as a rule has no trouble in selling its bonds.

The Mississippi law calls for an elected school superintendent. The people of Washington county elected a capable school man who has kept abreast of the times. All the white children attend accredited consolidated schools. Every effort has been made to place good schools within reach of all colored children. Good buildings are provided for all. The school department manages its affairs with the same efficiency common to a large business. Accurate records of all types are kept. Complete records of the sixteenth section lands are on file in the office of the school superintendent. School budgets are prepared and followed as carefully as are the county budgets.

County buying is done, for the most part, by the board of supervisors. Salesmen do not spend long hours trafficking with the supervisors over prices and ways and means of financing purchases. Bids for the larger items are placed with the supervisors, and the machine best suited



to the county's need is bought for the best possible cash price. Smaller items are bought by the department heads. Since Washington is a relatively large county and has a relatively large urban population, it is to be expected that the county would have relatively large stationery bills, but the amount spent by this county on stationery and record books is less than in many smaller counties in the same state. Washington county paid one hundred fifty dollars less for a small truck, than was paid by another county for a truck of the same make and size. Practically every purchase of the county is accompanied by a discount, and the price paid is always the wholesale and not the retail price.

There is an elected tax assessor in every Mississippi county. In many counties of the state, this official works only about six months in the year and is not given any full-time assistance. In Washington county, however, the work is sufficient to call for the full-time services of the assessor. He is given a full-time assistant. Every effort is made to place all property upon the tax books. A complete up-to-date map of the county is kept by the assessor. Every effort is used to equably assess all property. The inequalities so often found in assessment rolls are relatively few in this county. Taxpayers rarely complain about assessments. The assessor has tried to use all the more modern methods of assessing and keeping track of property. Rarely does the state tax commission, in reviewing the work in this county, ask for changes.

The clerk to the board of supervisors is charged with the duties of county auditor. The books of the county are kept with the same standard of correctness demanded by the average large corporation. It is possible for this clerk to take any necessary report from these books with a minimum of time and work.

When the board of supervisors sits down to its regular monthly meetings, the clerk has prepared everything for the meeting. The minutes of the preceding meeting are read and approved. The bills for the current month are reviewed and ordered paid. Other business is calendared and handled in due order. The board, as a rule, handles all business before it in a few hours. Many Mississippi boards spend from five to seven days handling less than a third the business handled by this board in a few hours. At each meeting, the clerk supplies the board members with briefed reports of all county departments. Full reports are available when the board wishes them. Every thing is done to make this board function with the same efficiency and effectiveness expected in large corporations.

The clerk to the board in this county is actually a county manager even though he does not bear that title. The board has given him all the coöperation and authority necessary for him to help the board to direct the county's activities. In so doing the board has not exceeded its authority under the law nor allowed the clerk to do so. These supervisors and their clerk have merely intelligently attacked the problem of governing the county effectively under an antique system. These men are making the system work.

## SOCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

ALFRED G. BAKER LEWIS

THE unemployment situation at present is unusually acute, as the figures gathered by the different state labor departments show. The New York figures, as Miss Perkins has declared, not merely show a drop in employment, but show no such increase in employment as Mr. Hoover, apparently from his inner consciousness, has proclaimed. In Massachusetts the figures gathered by the State Department of Labor and Industry show that only 76 per cent as many people are employed now in manufacturing as were employed on an average during the five years from 1919 to 1923 inclusive. As that base period included the severe industrial depression of 1921, the Massachusetts figures indicate that considerably more than one-fourth of the number of people who either were working or wanted work on an average from 1919 to 1923 are now actually out of employment.

During such a time of widespread hardship due to unemployment the usual remedies for unemployment are proposed with more than ordinary vigor and are even taken up by our government officials. For example, President Hoover has called upon the municipal, state, and federal authorities to increase expenditures on useful public works in order to provide more employment. In addition, he has again proposed the plan for a so-called "prosper-

ity reserve" for government expenditures by which more money would be spent on certain forms of construction by the different public authorities during times of depression and less money in times of prosperity. This plan was officially proposed before in 1921 by President Harding's unemployment committee, and nothing was done about it then, and it seems as though not much more would be done as a result of the present industrial depression.

The unemployment problem, however, like the poor, is always with us. In other words, the problem is endemic as well as epidemic and the proposal for a "prosperity reserve" would deal only with the more or less periodic increases in unemployment which occur from time to time, without reaching the quite considerable amount of unemployment which appears to be "normal" even in our relatively prosperous land. The figures published by the Federal Government in its biennial census of manufactures show that there has been a decrease in employment amounting to about one per cent a year in the period from 1919 to 1927, the last year for which figures are available. These figures, moreover, deal only with employment, and understate the amount of unemployment for they do not allow for the increase in population during that period.

A good part of this endemic unemploy-

ment, which apparently must be regarded as a normal condition, is due to what economists have recently termed technological unemployment, or in other words unemployment due to the increasingly rapid introduction of speed-up systems and labor displacing devices. While it may be true that in the long run such methods of reducing the labor cost of our products do not increase the total amount of unemployment, there can be no denying the fact that that is only true in the long run, and that a period undoubtedly exists during which, even if only temporarily, labor displacing devices and speed-up systems do increase the number of persons out of work. The result is that when the introduction of such devices has been proceeding in industry at an increasingly rapid rate, there tends to be an increase in the normal amount of what might be called endemic unemployment because of the time lag required for industry to increase its output enough to offer again employment to those thrown out of work by labor displacing devices.

It seems perfectly clear, therefore, that a statesman-like remedy for the unemployment problem must be something more adequate than a prosperity reserve or temporarily increased government expenditures, since these remedies do not touch the problem of the normal amount of unemployment with which we seem to be cursed.

In order to relieve unemployment more adequately than can be done by a prosperity reserve, it seems clear that our country must come to a system of unemployment insurance similar to those in force in many foreign countries. The idea of unemployment insurance has been advocated for a good many years by the American Association for Labor Legislation, and the more progressive trade union groups are now seeking to interest organized labor in

the idea. Actual laws for unemployment insurance have been proposed in the State Legislatures of Wisconsin, Massachusetts, and Connecticut under Socialist inspiration. These proposed laws differ from the laws in force in most foreign countries in treating unemployment in the way that industrial accidents are treated under our workmen's compensation laws. In foreign countries unemployment insurance is generally paid out of a fund to which employer, employee, and the government all contribute, whereas the fund from which workmen's compensation is paid is obtained by placing the primary duty to take care of injured employees upon the employer, and then requiring or inducing him to insure against his liability to pay compensation for industrial accidents. The American proposals have treated unemployment insurance by laying a duty upon the employer to pay out of work allowances to men laid off, and then requiring him to insure against his liability to pay such out of work allowances. This means that unemployment is regarded as similar to industrial accidents so far as concerns the way in which the burden of caring for it is borne.

The proposed Massachusetts law fixes the amount of out of work allowances for an adult at \$2.00 a day, but not more than two-thirds of the usual weekly wage, and for no more than thirteen weeks in any one year. While this is less than the payments to workers for temporary inability to work due to industrial accidents, it seems fairly obvious that it is in the nature of an asking price, probably due to the Socialist source of the bill.

That unemployment insurance is needed and needed badly is fairly evident from the figures already quoted. That it would be a blessing to the unemployed worker is quite obvious. It would also furnish some additional protection for the family, a fact



probably not realized by many persons. For the record of desertions of wife and children by the principal wage earner tends to increase in periods of unemployment to such an extent that charity workers say that the number of desertions is a fairly accurate index of the amount of unemployment.

That a man who is laid off through no fault of his own should get part of his pay, at least for a limited number of weeks, is at least as reasonable as that a man who is hurt while at work should get part of his pay through Workmen's Compensation. The justice of putting the burden of providing for such payments primarily on the employers seems fairly plain. For one thing, unemployment is now in some respects sometimes actually an advantage to the employing class. For when unemployment is rife the employers know that they do not have to worry about demands for increased pay or shorter hours on the part of their workers. If the unemployment is serious enough the employers can even cut wages or introduce a speed up system without much fear of any effective or vigorous protests by their workers as long as there are many men out of work and seeking jobs. The justice of anything that would change that situation is difficult to deny.

All decisions which result in unemployment are decisions made by the employers. Questions regarding production schedules, and the price to be asked for their products, are both questions on which not even the most strictly organized trade union has an effective say. The decisions regarding replacing men by women, children, or machinery again are decisions on which the worker under our present industrial system has no part. To make the employer responsible for the unemployment resulting from decisions which he makes without any control by the workers seems entirely just.

Unemployment insurance would merely give to the idle workers the rights in industry now possessed by idle horses or even idle machinery. If an employer engaged in the teaming business had no work for his horses, he could not legally turn them out into the streets and let them starve. If he did, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals could and would have him arrested and fined. Yet the employer can lay off his teamsters without having any further responsibility for them whatever. What he could not legally do to his idle horses, in other words, he could do to his idle workers.

Or if a factory was forced temporarily to shut down, and the caretaker reported to the superintendent that there was a leak in the roof and the idle machinery was being damaged as a result, the company would immediately have the roof repaired. If they did not do so voluntarily, their bondholders would have the right to make them do so. Yet few if any corporations would undertake to give similar care to their idle workers, and if they would not do so voluntarily there is no law that would make them do so.

Technological unemployment, where men are laid off due to the introduction of labor displacing devices or speed up systems, furnishes the clearest instance of the justice of placing the burden of unemployment insurance upon the employer. For the introduction of labor displacing devices enables an employer to reduce labor costs and thus increase profits. Yet the very thing which means increased profits for the employer means for the workers unemployment with all its attendant hardships. To require the employer to use part of his increased profits to pay a small sum for a limited number of weeks to the workers who are laid off because of some new labor saving scheme is undeniably fair.

Besides being badly needed and thor-

oughly justified, unemployment insurance would have a strong tendency to reduce the amount of unemployment. Where men are laid off for some other reason than the introduction of labor displacing machinery, the explanation usually given by the employer is that no orders are coming in. What he really means is not that he cannot possibly get orders, but that he cannot get orders at the price he is asking for his product. If he did reduce prices sufficiently he could probably induce buyers to place orders with him, but he does not want to do that because such a reduction in prices would reduce his profits materially. But if unemployment insurance were in force, an employer would argue somewhat as follows:—"If I cut prices enough to get orders and keep my factory operating I am likely to reduce my profits to a vanishing point, and might even suffer a loss. But if I lay off my men I will have to pay them \$2.00 a day for a good many weeks, and that would make a larger loss per worker than if I reduce prices, so that by reducing prices and keeping my men at work I will suffer the smaller loss." It is clear enough that the result would be that employers would decide in favor of continuing operation rather than a shut down or partial operation more often than they do now, so that the net effect of unemployment insurance would be somewhat to reduce unemployment.

Of course when an employer lays off some or all of his workers because no orders are coming in, that is the most foolish thing from the point of view of society as a whole that he possibly could do. The reason that orders are not being placed in sufficient volume is because the great mass of the people have not purchasing power enough to buy back the full value of what they produce. Throwing men out of work will decrease their purchasing power still

further, so that retailers will order still less from wholesalers, wholesalers will order still less from manufacturers, and manufacturers will be forced to lay off still more men. This vicious circle is the reason why there is constant danger that any slight recession in business may result in a serious period of hard times.

If men who are laid off could count on a small weekly sum, even if it were only \$2.00 a day, at least to that extent they would still be able to purchase commodities, and at least to that extent their purchases would furnish orders for industry. Thus the out of work allowances would act at least to some extent as a brake to prevent any slight business depression from sliding down the hill of industrial activity into a period of widespread unemployment and hard times.

The proposed bills for unemployment insurance introduced in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Wisconsin have an additional scheme for making unemployment insurance a means for reducing unemployment which does not appear in any of the unemployment insurance schemes in force in foreign countries. For these bills set up a separate insurance fund for each industry. Consequently, if employers in any particular industry are wide awake and progressive and use their business ability to regularize employment in their industry, they will have to pay a smaller premium for their unemployment insurance than employers would have to pay in an industry where the unemployment experience was bad; just as a man who erects a fire proof building has to pay a smaller fire insurance premium than one who puts up a fire trap. In addition to that, the proposed laws give to the unemployment insurance commission, which is charged with the administration of the act, the right to establish a system of charges and credits applying to the insur-

ance premium, for those individual employers whose unemployment experience is either markedly worse or markedly better than the average of the unemployment rate existing in their industry. In this way a financial incentive is held out to induce employers to keep unemployment

at a minimum both in their industry and in their particular business. This seems to make unemployment insurance the best possible sort of industrial statesmanship, and a truly American improvement upon the schemes existing in foreign countries.

## INDUSTRIAL RATIONALIZATION

J. G. EVANS, JR.

APPARENTLY fate has dealt very kindly with the word destined to succeed *competition* as the *modus operandi* of economic activity. The new term is *rationalization*. Since it has been associated with very respectable and successful projects thus far, it can and will be accepted in the most conservative circles with at least moderate respect. Nevertheless, it contains the latent power to make a new economic and social world if consistently extended in all phases of economic activity and relationships.

Walter Meakin in *The New Industrial Revolution*<sup>1</sup> describes the nature, problems, and consequences of the rationalization which has taken place in Germany since 1924 and expresses his hopes and fears for it in Great Britain.

Rationalization is the "sensible" organization of economic activity from the point of view of the capitalist enterprisers. The "sensible" organization will differ according to time, place, and circumstance, but its ubiquitous element is the attainment of the greatest possible efficiency of the productive resources and the greatest possible stability of the business structure. New methods and equipment are adopted as soon as their worth is fairly certain. There is sufficient "centralized decentralization" to hit upon the quantity of pro-

duction and the price policy most advantageous to the associated group which may be called a combination or a trust or whatever you like. It involves not only control of the use of resources but also of the marketing process by taking advantage of the varying elasticity or strength of the demand in the different markets and uses.

So far, in Germany, the new industrial evolution is similar to the old one in that the benefits of the changes are supposed to flow more or less automatically to the laborers and to society at large (within the national boundaries). This lack of rationalization in the division of wealth and income and in the wider control by some social agency of the policies and profits of the business units is probably temporary even in Germany. It will not exist in such large degree from the beginning in England if rationalization is carried out there.

Germany grasped first the principles of the new economic *modus operandi* because she has never been committed excessively to the policy of competition. The cartel movement was the experimental laboratory for the development of the spirit of rationalization. The choice between rationalization and chaos precluded hesitancy and eliminated the generally present alternative of drifting.

Extensive unemployment and low

<sup>1</sup> *The New Industrial Revolution*. By Walter Meakin. New York: Brentano, 1929.



wages placed the workers in a position of helplessness in the matter of bargaining for a greater part in the control of economic activity and forced them to lend a hearty cooperation in whatever the employers inaugurated. However, German trade union leaders have insisted that the two most important aims of rationalization were "the extension of the market and the improvement of the general well-being of the whole community." By "extension of the market" is meant the greatest possible output at a minimum cost to consumers. If these aims are not achieved Germany may yet go through a period of strife between employers and workers. Indeed the workers have already become suspicious that their gain has not been adequate.

Faced with chaos the German industrial leaders simply got together, borrowed money, most of it from the United States, and set to work to reorganize the industries in which they were interested in the most scientific or sensible manner. These industries were mainly coal, metal, chemicals, and power. While the first outstanding effect was a "rapid increase in unemployment," conditions were created by the rationalization process under which industry steadily expanded and largely reabsorbed the displaced workers. The revival was remarkable though possibly it is not permanent. Nevertheless, it "may be asserted emphatically that if rationalization had not been carried out so efficiently and comprehensively, the standard of life of the mass of the people would have been very much lower than it is today."

Great Britain has lagged behind in this second industrial revolution. Mr. Meakin states concisely the chief obstacles to rationalization in Great Britain. They are "the appalling financial difficulties of many concerns in the staple industries which are in most need of rationalization, the tenacity of the old sturdy individual-

ism, and the reticence about the affairs of a particular concern, which is inseparable from this mentality; the consequent innate hostility to the coöperative action, which is a fundamental condition of successful rationalization; and the complex of vested interests, which must be composed or eliminated before effective corporate action can be organized."

British labor unions are too powerful and alert to permit general integration and centralized control without having a real guarantee of fair treatment for the workers in the form of some sort of coöperative control. The government as well as the labor union is likely to play a larger part in rationalization in Great Britain than has been the case in Germany.

Rationalization presents some problems for the economic theorist. Indeed, in removing the competition of business units from the pale of actuality, many of the problems upon which economists have spent their greatest and best energy do not exist and the approach to supply and demand analysis will have to be radically changed.

Because of centralized control over an industry the possibility of dumping in foreign markets is greatly enhanced. This necessitates either much greater international control over trade practices or a rise of the fiercest kind of nationalistic conflict in the international markets. The growth of international control is clearly to the interest of the workers, and their leaders seem to realize it.

Finally, "from the community point of view the problem created by rationalization is how to gain all the benefits of large-scale organization of industry, and the highest possible efficiency in production and distribution, while avoiding the evils of monopoly control." Under such circumstances capitalist enterprise motivated by profit becomes a pale ghost of what it was in the nineteenth century.

# LIBRARY AND WORKSHOP

Special Book Reviews by L. L. BERNARD, ERNEST R. GROVES, HARRY ELMER BARNES, FRANK H. HANKINS, CLARK WISSLER, PHILLIPS BRADLEY, FLOYD N. HOUSE, MALCOLM WILLEY, AND OTHERS

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## GEOGRAPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

ERICH W. ZIMMERMAN

*RAW MATERIALS OF INDUSTRIALISM.* By Hugh B. Killough and Lucy W. Killough. New York: Crowell, 1929. 407 pp. \$3.75.  
*ECONOMIC RESOURCES AND INDUSTRIES OF THE WORLD.* By Isaac Lippincott. New York: Appleton, 1929. 656 pp. \$5.00.

This age hates pigeonholes. The transition from the elaborate roller top desk with its numerous partitions neatly labelled but less neatly used to the flat top desk which to keep clean is the fondest

ambition of every real executive seems symptomatic. We have come to realize that this world is one integral organic entity which does not lend itself to division into compartments. Respect for borderline is therefore on the wane. This holds true of the world of things and facts no less than of the world of thoughts and words. The age-old division into matter and energy is yielding to the pressure of penetrating research which discovers the common nature of the two.

This development is quite pronounced in the natural sense. The chemist turns physicist and vice versa; the botanist trespasses on the ground of the zoologist and the biologist poaches on the preserves of both. The borderline between psychology and the medical science is fading. The "outline" type of book covering various phases of nature severally or in toto is only one of many symptoms which mark this stage of development.

The same tendency is quite pronounced in the relationship between geography and the social sciences. First, the geographer spread out into anthropogeography, emphasizing the vital interrelation between human and non-human elements of the environment. In doing so the geographer drew more or less heavily on the stock in trade of the economist, the historian, and the sociologist. Now these same disciplines are coming back and lustily invade the geographer's realm. Reichwein, a German sociologist, realizing the close interaction between natural environment, occupation, and societal organizations, surveys what he calls the "raw material economy of the world." Bernard clearly shows that in this twentieth century the social elements in our environment are at least as important as the natural. The economist and historian proceed along similar lines from their specific starting points.

Such a wholesale disregard for frontiers is a sign that powerful levers are at work within all the disciplines affected. The movement deserves to be welcomed. It should be interpreted as a transition toward a new division of scientific labor on a higher plane. The assent to this higher plane was rendered feasible by the unprecedented expansion of knowledge which has taken place all along the line during the last few decades.

What are these levers which cause the dough to rise until it bulges over the brim of obsolete containers? They are numerous and only a few can be mentioned. One of the most important forces is the rising tide of surplus capital which is being accumulated at a more rapid rate than ever before and which penetrates to the remotest corners of the world, transforming the earth from a kaleidoscope of unrelated geographical phenomena to a single economic organization. The weird and fascinating tales related in the style of a Marco Polo must give way to the penetrating analysis of the economist. Another force which is important enough to deserve special mention is the awakening of a social science which no longer stops short at the ward line, but embraces the stranger thousands of miles away. There is a practical side to this movement. When Japanese and German toys compete with a home-made article the concern for decent wages becomes world-wide. One does not need to be a missionary to fight for a living wage in the competing industry.

Resources, long identified with natural resources and as such the legitimate hunting ground of the geographer, develop into highly complex agglomerations of human, institutional, and physical phenomena and as such attract the attention of the economist and sociologist. A sociological reaction was mentioned in the case of Reichwein. And before us are two concrete



evidences of the awakening interest of the economist in the resources of the world. The two books cover much the same ground, but follow somewhat different methods of approach. Moreover, the book written by the two Killoughs, as the title implies, concentrates definitely upon the resource situation as it has developed since the Industrial Revolution. The Killoughs who had followed with interest the splendid work done by geographers, geologists, engineers, silva-, horti-, and agriculturists, to mention but the most important of numerous . . . ists, realized that the time had come when the marvelous treasures so accumulated should be studied from the economic angle and made available in more digestible form for the student of economics. As a result, many aspects of the world resource situation upon which geographers, geologists, and other scientists have laid much emphasis were relegated into the gackground and other aspects were brought out in bold relief. A characteristic feature of the book is the numerous price charts taken from the famous "Aldrich Report." But apart from that emphasis on price behavior the economic viewpoint is in evidence almost throughout the book.

The Lippincott treatment also attempts to get away from the traditional approach and tries to weave into the texture valuable contributions from the fields of history, political science, and especially economics. Of the two, however, this second book conforms much more closely to previous publications in the field. Moreover, Lippincott has not limited the subject matter as the Killoughs have done, but extends his treatment even into the field of regional geography. The last part of the book consists of a discussion of the resource position of all leading countries. To be sure, the Lippincott book is considerably larger than that of the Killoughs. Neverthe-

less, so much ground had to be covered that the plowshare frequently had to skim the surface rather than drive deep.

There are two ways of covering large ground. One is what we may call the encyclopaedic method, the other is best described as the functional penetration of the subject. To yield satisfactory results the encyclopaedic method requires almost unlimited space. Since in a textbook that is not available, the alternative approach which we call the functional method seems the more desirable. By functional approach is here understood that method of covering a given subject which attempts to penetrate into the deeper meaning of numerous heterogeneous facts and fact complexes and to distill therefrom an elixir of common elements. The departmentalized mechanistic treatment is discarded and instead the outline is based upon the functional "tertia comparationis." A book on resources which was to begin with aluminum and which would run through the line all the way to zinc, devoting separate chapters to individual commodities, would be a purely departmentalized treatment. A book, on the other hand, which makes the basic differences between dead and living matter, animate or inanimate energy, or similar elementary concepts, the points of departure from which the entire discussion takes its leitmotivs would be an example of functional approach.

Both books contain a great deal that is worth while to the student of social forces. If the books accomplish nothing else besides putting resources on the economic map, they have proved their *raison d'être*. After that, any editor of an encyclopaedia of the social sciences who omits the word resources from his lineup of major topics should bury his face in shame.

## TOWARD THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

RUPERT B. VANCE

A NEW REGIONAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE WORLD. By Marion I. Newbigin. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929. 432 pp.

THE HUMAN HABITAT. By Ellsworth Huntington. New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1927. 292 pp.

HUNGER FIGHTERS. By Paul de Kruif. Harcourt, Brace, 1928. 370 pp.

TREE CROPS. By J. Russell Smith. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929. 315 pp.

The reviewer of a book carries in his quiver the one unkindest cut of all. He may at his pleasure assign to the volume a goal no author intended and sharply bring to task the culprit for not having achieved his purpose. The slant with which I propose to view the following books is open to the foregoing criticism. If, however, the sociologist feels that in the present state of his science, some of his most fertile suggestions are likely to come from borderline subjects, he can do no better than turn to the field of human geography. Written from diverse and varied backgrounds, these volumes afford interesting and valuable sidelights on that perennial problem—the development of the cultural from the natural landscape. From the physiographic ribs which furnish forth foundations to the reconstruction of plant economy, hints scattered throughout these volumes point to a body of data slowly gathering around the concept of region.

If one wishes to begin with a running account of the world's regions elaborated on a physiographic basis he may turn to Marion Newbigin. For this is what the editor of the *Scottish Geographic Magazine* has given us in compacted limits, geography by regions rather than the geography of principles as exemplified in Roderick Peattie's *College Geography*. The author holds that the main object of geography is "to bring out the relation between the life of organisms—of plants, animals,

and particularly of men—and the physical conditions which prevail on the surface of the globe." The introduction on regionalism and the last chapter on geographic interrelations will be found of more value to sociologist than the rapid survey of the continents. As a world survey based on the concept of natural region the volume constitutes a valuable introductory text in geography courses.

Huntington's volume is "an attempt to give the layman a true idea of human geography as interpreted by the American school." The style is as felicitous as the phrasing of the title, *The Human Habitat*. One has here the selection of regions and areas as examples to demonstrate principles. Huntington knows facts but loves them not for their own sake; for him they must show relations and admit of interpretations. Certainly his work cannot be accused of lack of industry or poverty of explanation. His treatment of lands too warm and too moist, of the civilization based on rice culture, of tropic plantations, and of the selective influence of soil on democracy and aristocracy shows mankind adapting itself to varied homes. Placed on the reading list this scientific survey of the terrestrial canvas will give to courses in geography and sociology a fresh point of view and an incentive to look for the relation of things.

Recounting the stories of 610 modern chemists, plant and animal pathologists, De Kruif shows that man continues to remake the map by renewed and difficult conquests of the plant and animal complex atop of which he lives. Whether it is Carleton and Mackay finding new wheats and pushing their cultivation arcticward, Dorset or Mohler attacking hog cholera and hoof and mouth disease, Shull or

Hoffer interbreeding maize and defying root rot, Babcock testing milk, Steenbock curing rickets by food exposed to ultraviolet rays, or Goldberger tracking down the hidden hunger of pellagra—one or the other finds man at work remodelling the biology of plants and animals to fit into the regional economy. Through this work runs the same journalistic verve that made *Microbe Hunters* a best seller.

If de Kruif is the historian of recent conquests, Smith is the prophet of new invasions. His *Tree Crops* demonstrates what a social geographer of vigorous mind and wide-travelled experience may venture in the field of ecological reconstruction. He emphasizes the fact that civilized tillage is doing more to erode soils than man can ever hope to repair. But one avenue can

lead to the conservation of our rapidly wasting hillside slopes and mountain areas—a return to tree culture. This ideal of every man dwelling in peace and plenty under his own date, palm, or nut tree has led Smith to ransack the orchards of the world. Sugar trees, stock food trees, bread, butter, and meat trees he provides out of the infinite varieties the globe has to offer. The picture he draws of the orchard economy of the Corsican slopes and his proposals for an Institute of Mountain Agriculture may well intrigue young America which has drawn its plants and fruits from the four quarters of the earth. It must be remembered, however, that the barriers to ecological reconstruction are as likely to be found in cultural inertia as in geographic conditions.

## BEHAVIOR, INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL

L. L. AND J. S. BERNARD

THE THINKING MACHINE. By C. Judson Herrick. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929. xii + 374 pp.

PSYCHOLOGY, NORMAL AND ABNORMAL. By J. W. Bridges. New York: Appleton, 1930. xxii + 552 pp. \$3.50.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ABNORMAL PEOPLE. By John J. B. Morgan. New York: Longmans, Green, 1928. ix + 627 pp. \$3.75.

THE CHILD'S HEREDITY. By Paul Popenoe. Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1929. xiii + 304 pp. \$2.00.

THE ADOLESCENT, HIS CONFLICTS AND ESCAPES. By S. I. Schwab and B. S. Veeder. New York: Appleton, 1929. vii + 365 pp. \$3.00.

CHILDREN AND MOVIES. By Alice Miller Mitchell. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929. xxiv + 181 pp. \$2.00.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Bernard C. Ewer. New York: Macmillan, 1929. ix + 436 pp. \$2.25.

THE MEASUREMENT OF ATTITUDE. By L. L. Thurstone and E. J. Chave. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929. xii + 97 pp. \$1.00.

MOTIVATION IN FASHION. By Elizabeth B. Hurlock.

New York: Columbia University (Archives of Psychology), 1929. 71 pp.

CRIME AND THE PRESS. By Joseph L. Holmes. Chicago: Jour. of Criminal Law and Criminology, 1929. 107 pp.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT. By Geo. M. Stratton. New York: Appleton, 1929. x + 387 pp. \$3.00.

A MODERN THEORY OF ETHICS: THE RELATIONS OF ETHICS AND PSYCHOLOGY. By W. Olaf Stapledon. New York: Dutton, 1929. ix + 277 pp. \$2.75.

CONFLICTING PSYCHOLOGIES OF LEARNING. By Boyd Henry Bode. Boston: Heath, 1929. v + 305 pp.

APPLICATIONS OF PSYCHOLOGY. By Fred A. Moss.

Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929. x + 477 pp.

PSYCHOLOGY AND INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY. By Harold E. Burt. New York: Appleton, 1929. xviii + 395 pp. \$3.00.

HUMAN NATURE AND MANAGEMENT. By Ordway Tead. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1929. x + 312 pp.

THE SYMBOLIC PROCESS AND ITS INTEGRATION IN CHILDREN. By John F. Markey. New York: Har-

court, Brace, 1928. xii + 192 pp.



- LA GRAMÁTICA DE LOS SENTIMIENTOS. By Anibal Ponce. Buenos Aires: L. J. Rosso, 1929. 159 pp.
- LA MUJER, NUESTRO SEXTO SENTIDO Y OTROS ESBOZOS. By Roberto Nóvoa Santos. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1929. 256 pp. 5 pesetas.
- MYSTICISM AND LOGIC. By Bertrand Russell. New York: Norton, 1929. vi + 234 pp. \$3.00.
- THE HISTORY OF PSYCHOLOGY. By W. B. Pillsbury. New York: Norton, 1929. 323 pp. \$3.50.
- ENRIQUE MORSELLI: EL HOMBRE, EL PSIQUIATRA, EL PENSADOR. By Emilio de Matteis. Genova, 1930. 36 pp.
- A SYLLABUS AND NOTEBOOK FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Thomas Earl Sullenger. Omaha: Douglas Printing Co., 1929.

## I

If our somewhat nervous brethern who "strain at a new idea and swallow a cocktail," fearing that behaviorism will destroy God and morality, would read Herrick's *The Thinking Machine* they might get a good night's sleep. Herrick is a behaviorist, but an idealist; a scientist, but a partisan of good morals and rational religion. He sets out, with his splendid knowledge of biology and neurology, to describe man's adjustment behavior in terms of mechanistic processes as far as possible, believing that concrete description and quantitative measurement, rather than vague philosophizing or mystical analogizing, are the methods of science and the true avenues to a clear understanding. The result is a highly readable and lucid naturalistic and behavioristic account of what takes place in the body and brain of men when they are employed in the great business of life—getting along in their world. He finds that such an approach to the psychology of adjustment, instead of destroying ideals and values, enhances them, defines them, makes them concrete and real. Perhaps the anti-behaviorists have been tuning in on the wrong station.

Bridges sits on the fence in his *Psychology*, which is abnormal as well as normal. He classifies himself as both behaviorist and

introspectionist, neglecting the fact that behaviorists do not ignore consciousness and introspection, whether they call them implicit behavior or some other term dear to their ears. All that behaviorism means is that it is the study of what men do, and that includes what they think. Bridges' plan of combining normal and abnormal psychology is a good one, for everybody knows that the only differences between the two kinds of behavior is that of emphasis and degree. He also writes clearly and organizes his material well, like a good teacher. But his ideas often sound like those of a man who has been converted from metaphysics to psychology, bringing over his pagan gods to rebaptize them as Christian saints. This is strikingly noticeable in his treatment of instincts, of which he has more than McDougall, including even imitation.

The title of Morgan's *Psychology of Abnormal People* itself shows insight. He also writes clearly and is interested particularly in educational applications. He leans much farther toward the Freudian school than most psychologists will approve of, but he saves himself from the Freudian metaphysics by giving naturalistic explanations and interpretations. Of course, the book is weak (or reserved) on the side of the older medical psychiatry of the Kraepelin type, but sociologists will find this one of the most helpful treatises on the psychology of unadjusted people. It is *not* a biology of unadjusted people.

## II

Popenoe's purpose in writing *The Child's Heredity* is clearly that of popular education in eugenics. He calls it a guide book for parents, and he would even measure intelligence by the ability of people to select good genes for their children (p. 279), which may be somewhat hard on those who are interested merely in testing cigarettes, in finding new methods of prop-

aganda against the soviets, or in selecting good reading material for their children. While this book is necessarily developed from the biological standpoint, there seems to be some evidence that the author comes closer to a recognition that there are sciences of psychology and sociology than was manifested in *Applied Eugenics*.

Schwab and Veeder have written a very clear elementary book on *The Adolescent*. It is significant that they make the environment play the primary rôle both in producing his conflicts and in providing for his escapes. The concept of instinct is handled with care and almost with precision. Schwab has arrived independently at a classification of environments, for his purpose very similar in conception, if not in terminology, to that put forth by one of the reviewers. The conflicts, of course, arise out of the problems of adjusting to the social environments into which the child is born, and his escapes are normal or abnormal, according as they lead ultimately to adjustment or to a wider conflict breach. This aspect is discussed in considerable detail.

Miss Mitchell's study of *Children and Movies* covers results from more than 10,000 children, boy and girl scouts on the one hand and delinquent boys and girls on the other. She found that the delinquents had a much higher preference for movies over hiking, ball games, parties, etc., than the other children, but she thinks this is partly due to the fact that the scouts have adult help in planning their recreation, while the delinquents do not. All classes preferred movies to reading, but the delinquents more especially. The delinquents were much more interested in romantic and western movies than the scouts, which may mean that they were more active in seeking phantasy escapes from their conflicts, also that their delinquency was in some degree the result of

the movies they saw. Clearly more adult coöperation in children's play is indicated.

### III

A new treatise on *Social Psychology* comes from Professor Ewer of Pomona College. He acknowledges an especial debt to McDougall and Allport, but is not unkind to other members of the clan. Apparently he owes more to Ross and Grosse than he is aware of. He certainly has more of the spirit of McDougall, than of Allport, for his adherence to the metaphysics of instinct is closer than to the experimental method. Besides a long introduction dealing with "fundamental principles," he divides the core of his volume between the individual and the social order, or adjustment and controls. It is one of those books which clings rather closely to the tradition in its field.

In *The Measurement of Attitude* Thurstone and Chave have attacked statistically and quantitatively one of the most tempting problems in social psychology. Following the earlier lead of Cattell and Allport in the application of psycho-physical measurements of values as distinguished from sense data, they adopt as their indirect unit of measurement "the equally often noticed difference" or an approximation. They began with 130 statements of possible attitudes toward the church and by ingenious statistical devices selected 45 of these as objectively valid for testing individual and group attitudes in this field of opinion. These were fitted to a scale which can be used to measure these attitudes toward the church. The authors do not regard their results as final, but hope to perfect their method.

Miss Hurlock's study of *Motivation in Fashion*, apparently a Ph.D. thesis, is valuable as an example of how not to do it. It was carried on by means of a rather poorly constructed questionnaire which

asked some 1452 people to state whether they adopted fashions in dress to win the approval of others, to appear prosperous, modest, etc. The author accepts the answers as valid, which, as one might expect, rarely incriminate those questioned in the eyes of the public. She concludes that her "facts" disprove Veblen's theory of dress as a means of invidious distinction and the "self-advertisement" theory of other social psychologists. She admits that her subjects may have been unconscious of their motivation. They also stated that they dressed less in vogue when alone or merely in the presence of their families, which appears to be indirect evidence contradictory of the main conclusions.

Holmes' study of *Crime and the Press*, also apparently a Ph.D. thesis, is a better example of quantitative method, following the general method first applied by Fenton. The content of newspapers was measured and illustrative cases copied and presented. There is a mass of evidence to show—who has not observed the fact ad nauseam?—that the newspapers play up the worst types of antisocial suggestion. The remedies of legislation and editorial reform are suggested, but not developed.

#### IV

The *Social Psychology of International Conduct* by G. M. Stratton examines the psycho-social bases of internationalism. He finds the several races not irretrievably separated by native intelligence factors, but still capable of being graded into at least three great intelligence groups, with the Caucasians, of course, at the top. Race prejudice is the result of fear rather than of innate racial differences and has certain protective values as well as disadvantages. While nations and international relations have permanent conditioners, such phases of social relationship

must depend upon conscious planning and education rather than upon nature. Hence social programs for the socialization of commerce, the guidance of population, education regarding the results of war and the desire for coöperation are the truly indicated means to an intelligent and prosperous international behavior. The book is readable and not too popular.

Stapledon's *Modern Theory of Ethics* is an English book which apparently owes more to American thinking than the citations would seem to indicate. The author attempts to get a psychological basis for ethics and rejects self-realization, hedonism, and instinctive drives as sanctions for right behavior, turning to a rather involved and metaphysical distortion of social-environmental sanction as the ultimate criterion. What his theory really amounts to, when divested of such terms as "hormic" and "teleologically active substance," is something like L. F. Ward's teleosis, or the projection of ends into the social environment as ideals toward which we strive, although the author never achieves such a clear statement of it.

*Conflicting Psychologies of Learning* has the usual Bode profundity of analysis and disregard for tradition. He even maintains that the deepest problems of psychology cannot be solved by applications of scientific technique, but must resort to logic. The kind of theory of mind held by the educationist will determine his practice. The old formal theories of mind resulted in formal education or discipline. Behaviorism, while it destroys dualism, lacks flexibility in selecting the educational pattern. His own pragmatic theory of mind permits of the projection of a sliding scale pattern and thus of education which is flexible adaptation (pp. 266-268). The reviewers' only criticism is that Professor Bode does not seem to realize that his pragmatic theory is merely the sym-



bolic aspect of the behavioristic theory of mind. Queer indeed are the misconceptions of behaviorism.

## V

The hiatus between sociology and psychology is being closed by the growth of applied psychology as well as by social psychology. Moss' *Applications of Psychology* overlaps with both sociology and social psychology to a striking degree, covering as it does the effects of body condition, drugs, and physical environment upon the efficiency of behavior in adjustment situations; individual differences arising from environmental as well as hereditary factors; and the applications of psychology to medicine, law, business, politics, education, etc. It is an excellently well balanced book, always looking to the concrete, definite and quantitative, where such data may be had. The subject is so important that it really should go into the senior year of the high school.

Equally concrete and quantitative is Burr's *Psychology and Industrial Efficiency*, but the treatment is more psychological, perhaps physiological; certainly it is thoroughly behavioristic. The nine technical chapters develop from general methods of learning and teaching, through methods of work, fatigue, monotony, the working environment, satisfaction and morale, and accidents, to efficiency in executive work and the future of industrial psychology. If sociologists and social psychologists would keep a close acquaintanceship with such vivid realistic books as these in closely allied fields they would experience a delightful sense of renewal.

Unfortunately Tead's *Human Nature and Management* does not maintain the same high level of concreteness and validity as the other two books here noticed. It illustrates well the compensating need of the industrial and applied psychologist

for a closer contact with the recent work in social psychology and sociology. His conceptions of human nature were junked quite a while ago, and his treatment of management is so general and frequently so platitudinous, even homiletical, that its utility is doubtful. There is no evidence from either his bibliography or his text that his reading has been such as to correct his viewpoints, except the feeble flutter indicated by the abandonment of the term instincts for "inborn tendencies to action."

## VI

The logic of behavior becomes increasingly important as the old logic of non-functional concepts declines in significance. A stock criticism made of the behaviorists is that they cannot explain ideas, concepts, ideals, values. This view is held largely because the anti-behaviorists do not understand very well the nature of the *Symbolic Process*. Markey, in a book by this title, attempts to explain it by tracing its integration in children. Aside from some of the verbal intolerance of the all-or-none behaviorist, he makes out a pretty good case for his particular "dialectic," but in about as dry and unbehavioristic language (symbolism) as one could well imagine. It is not my intention to place him in a class with Einstein by saying that perhaps only a baker's dozen besides himself will grasp clearly what he is trying to say. One infers that all before him were "subjectivists" and "structuralists," but only he (perhaps he admits to confraternity Watson and Lashley) is truly functionalist and behaviorist. The dialectician and metaphysician we might possibly forgive for getting lost in his words; but the ultra-behaviorist, never.

Ponce, professor of philosophy in Buenos Aires, like Markey, is quite familiar with what has been written about the symbolic

process, especially in French. He contends, in *The Grammar of the Sentiments*, that language symbols are essentially intellectual and have developed because of the great difficulty the organism has of giving full expression to its impulses. Most of these impulses never do achieve intellectual or complete verbal symbolization, but are symbolized as far as possible in the emotions and sentiments. It is the grammar, or the logic, of emotional symbolization—a world of impulse and incompletely realized behavior struggling for expression—with which he concerns himself in this very clearly and attractively written book. He uses rhythm, metaphor, and conjure to illustrate his argument.

Nóvoa Santos (*Woman*, etc.) is also deeply concerned with the logic of symbolism, although perhaps more metaphysically than Ponce. He accepts the behaviorist position in general and defines language as an adjustment relation between subject and object. In one of these lectures, delivered in Havana, he describes the function of language in the process of the evolution of the beast into man. In another he is concerned with the symbolism, especially of form, in determining and in communicating esthetic values. In others still he attempts to isolate the symbolic values in the emotions of homesickness and real and false feelings of well-being (euphoria) in health and sickness. The essay on the biological position of woman is somewhat apart, but in it he concludes that there is increasing segregation of biological traits between male and female, which leads also to increasing segregation of cultural or symbolic traits.

*Mysticism and Logic*, by Bertrand Russell, takes its title from the leading essay. The author would reduce philosophy to logic, and of course to the logic of symbols; but he does not call himself a behaviorist. He

thinks that mysticism as a way of feeling may still have some value, but as a way of thinking (magic) none. Symbolism attains relative permanency of value in mathematical form, but the laws constructed from even mathematical forms are subject to revision, and even to replacement. There is no illusion that laws control the universe of man, but an apparent recognition that man makes laws as a method of looking life into perspective the better to guide and unify the logic of his behavior. Logic so conceived is the essence of integration and the surest logic is that of mathematics. Here is the symbolic process in its highest terms—a super language.

## VII

Pillsbury's *History of Psychology* is not really a history, but rather a brief encyclopaedia of sketches of the greatest of ancient and modern psychologists tied loosely together by slender bridges of connecting comment. For the most part the men are arranged by countries and centuries, but in the last few chapter titles appear the terms experimental, abnormal, structuralism, functionalism, behaviorism, and animal, hormic, gestalt, and intuition psychology. The various phases of social psychology are not treated. Although a very elementary book, it is pleasantly written and contains perhaps as much as the average reader can digest.

The brochure by Matteis on *Henry Morrelli* is a peculiarly pleasing account of the personality, life, and psychiatric theories of that most interesting man. It is regrettable that it is not available in English translation.

## VIII

Sullenger's *Syllabus and Notebook for the Study of Social Psychology* consists of a few questions for each of 36 lessons based on

Bogardus' and Young's texts, with blank pages for answers. There should have been a pencil also and some answers to

make sure that the student would get his lesson correctly. It looks as if we are coming to that.

## THE AGRICULTURAL PROBLEM

CLIFTON J. BRADLEY

**THE FARM EXPORT DEBENTURE PLAN.** By Joseph S. Davis. Stanford University: Food Research Institute Publication, 1929. 274 pp. \$3.00.

**TWO MANY FARMERS.** By Wheeler McMillen. New York: William Morrow, 1929. 340 pp. \$2.00.

Farm relief continues to be a topic of major public interest. Especially is this true since the open declaration of warfare by Julius H. Barnes for the United States Chamber of Commerce and by Alexander Legge for the Federal Farm Board. The work of the latter group has been greatly complicated by the recent world-wide declines in the prices of basic commodities. Therefore, farm relief by the use of export debentures, may be "just around the corner." Undoubtedly, Congress will consider the Farm Export Debenture Plan of farm relief at its next regular session which convenes in December, 1930. The first book reviewed is the most comprehensive statement yet published of this plan of farm relief. The second book was written by an able agricultural editor and deals with the general agricultural situation.

Joseph S. Davis, *The Farm Export Debenture Plan*. This study, if it can be so designated, might be termed pointed since it is largely built around the ten points raised by President Hoover in objection to the adoption by Congress of the Export Debenture Plan. It is quite evident that the author does not approve of export debentures and because of personal bias, or other reasons, he goes so far in his criticisms that the study almost degenerates into an exposé and becomes little more than propa-

ganda in opposition to the export debenture plan of farm relief.

The book contains an introduction and ten chapters. A very good historical review of the birth and development of the Export Debenture Plan appears in the introduction. Essential features of the plan are discussed in the first chapter, and here the author begins to regale the reader with asides that have no relation to an understanding of the plan. The case for the plan, sources of support, and prospective costs are dealt with in the three following chapters. Discussion of how export debentures might be expected to work with specific commodities begins with Chapter V and continues through Chapter VII. Two of these chapters deal entirely with wheat and flour. These are the best chapters, are convincingly written, and constitute the sole "study" portion of the book. Evidently, the author either knows wheat or he secured able advice on this product. His interpretation of tobacco, on the other hand, is naive and shows little understanding of the economic problems of this commodity.

Tobacco is highly differentiated in type and one type rather generally has little direct relation to another as to use. It follows, therefore, that prices for different types of tobacco vary greatly. The author recognizes the importance of different types of tobacco as constituting almost separate commodities on one page, and then blithely states on the succeeding page, "An average price of 20 cents or more



tends to stimulate acreage, and an average price of 19 cents or less, tends to restrict it." As a matter of fact, an average price of 20 cents per pound would be a most attractive price for producers of certain types of tobacco while such an average price would be ruinous to producers of other types. Of the commodities discussed, the reviewer is best acquainted with tobacco, and, if the discussion for tobacco is typical, not only are those of cotton, corn, pork products, cattle, beef, and rice inaccurate but they are misleading as well.

The bearing of foreign experience upon export bounties on agricultural products is reviewed in the next chapter, and here again the author performs a distinct service in giving to the public the opposite interpretation of developments in foreign countries already explained upon several occasions by Dr. C. L. Stewart, who has played a major rôle both in developing the export debenture plan and in gaining support for it. Potential reactions of foreign governments are surmised in Chapter IX. The final chapter contains concluding considerations.

The prospective annual cost to the treasury of operating the export debenture plan is estimated at 150 million dollars and that to the public at from 300 to 400 million dollars because of the enhanced prices of debentured commodities. In all sincerity, the reviewer would like to ask about the disposition of the 300 to 400 million dollars of public cost just mentioned in view of the following statements by the author:

"Even in the absence of production stimulus . . . or foreign retaliation, it seems improbable that the enhancement of farm prices, on the average, would exceed, let us say, 15 to 16 cents per bushel of wheat."

The export bounty at one-half the present duty on imported wheat would be 21 cents.

"In a word, the application of the debenture plan of cotton would be a costly, crude, and ineffective device to 'restore prosperity' to cotton growers.

"Under the circumstances, it appears absurd to assume that even the limited price advantage realized by producers of the export fraction would be shared by all cattle-growers."

Hog prices as effected by export debentures are discussed as follows:

"They (price changes) would certainly not be measurable, and they probably would not be perceptible. The chances are, that they would be reflected most clearly in packing house profits.

"The plan (export debenture) would reach none of the causes of unsatisfactory conditions among corn-and-hog farmers, and contribute nothing appreciable towards solving the problems involved in the situation."

The net effect of the plan on tobacco prices is expected to result in

". . . no price advantage to the grower (except in the early stages) and a cost to the treasury exceeding ten million dollars a year, while foreign purchasers of American tobacco would be able to obtain their supplies more cheaply to a corresponding extent."

As to rice,

". . . the net effect would presumably be of minor consequence."

Finally

"There is no economic justification for expecting that farm prices, however much they might initially be raised, would stay above the levels that would otherwise obtain, by more than a small fraction of the debenture rate, if indeed any net price enhancement were secured."

Reference by the author to opinions of economists are conspicuous by their absence, while statements and quotations of political scientists are used freely to bolster conclusions. As stated earlier, objections of President Hoover form the basis for much discussion. Secretary Mellon has, overnight it seems, become a leading economic authority since numerous references

are made to his statements and in sum total two or three small-type pages of the volume are direct quotations from various of Secretary Mellon's published statements. In one instance, some 1,300 words are quoted bodily from one of Senator Smoot's speeches. Other senators quoted as authorities are Vandenberg of Michigan and Smith of South Carolina.

Generally speaking, the author concludes that the export debenture plan of farm relief would not be simple in operation, would be costly beyond expectations, would result in foreign retaliation, would be a radical departure in governmental policy, and would result in little benefit to farmers. A truly surprising volume to have come from the pen of one of America's leading agricultural economists.

Wheeler McMillen, *Too Many Farmers*. In this book, we have another journalistic treatment of the agricultural problem. The scope of the study is too inclusive because the author attempts to deal with all phases of the agricultural problem and to review all possible means of farm relief. The book is poorly organized as a result of its too inclusive outline. In many instances, sound economic analysis is sacrificed for effect and emphasis.

The author conceives the major function of agricultural colleges to be the training, not of farmers, since there are too many already, but rather of scientists, technicians, and teachers. Agricultural extension work is termed, "stretching the college," and the advisability of offering such services to all farmers indiscriminately is questioned.

The volume is greatly enlivened with occasional bits of homely phraseology and flashes of oratory. A distinct service is rendered by the recognition of many men who have done outstanding agricultural research, but about whom the public is not informed. Occasional chapters and

treatments of various subjects are very good. No general conclusions are attempted, but, as to the future of American agriculture, once the present painful period of readjustment is past, the author is optimistic.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATIONS. Vol. I. Statistics with Introduction and Notes. By Imre Ferenczi. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1929. 1112 pp. \$10.00.

In 1924 the Social Science Research Council appointed a Committee on the Scientific Aspects of Immigration. This Committee projected as its first step a statistical study of immigration to be undertaken by the National Bureau of Economic Research which in turn requisitioned Professor W. F. Willcox to organize and direct the enquiry. The latter secured the cooperation of the International Labour Office at Geneva and secured to take immediate charge, Dr. Ferenczi, who had won distinction by preparing, while chief of the Migration Section of that Office, his "Migratory Movements 1920-23," which served very largely as a model for the present work.

Needless to say there has resulted a compilation of first-rate importance. Here will be found in 643 tables, 16 diagrams, and 175 pages of textual criticism, analysis, and summary the results of laborious research and brilliant arrangement and synthesis of nearly all the quantitative data relating to world migration for more than a hundred years. The author has collected and sifted not merely the figures for emigration or immigration by countries and even parts of countries, but between continents. He has had considerable assistance by famous libraries and public institutes and offices of various names and types. An unexpected source of great value were the seaport passenger lists of many British and continental ports. Too

late for use there were discovered at Seville such lists extending back to 1509 and coming down to 1834. Dr. Ferenczi has shown great ingenuity in filling gaps, overcoming the incompleteness of the official records, in checking discrepancies, and in so analyzing the data as to give significance to his tables. Here will be found the statistics not only for Europe and America but for China, Japan, South Africa, Australia, and in fact all the rest of the world in so far as available. Moreover, there are tables for age, sex, and occupation. In addition, there is a brief but very useful outline of the list of migratory movements to and from all areas together with the legislation affecting it. The book is thus a vast compendium henceforth indispensable to students of population movements.

F. H. HANKINS.

*Smith College.*

**SOME SOUTHERN COTTON MILL WORKERS AND THEIR VILLAGES.** By Jennings J. Rhyne Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930. 214 pp. \$2.50.

The author of this volume made a first hand study of 500 cotton mill families. He spent several years at the task and his research covered nearly 2,400 persons. His work was thorough and he has presented probably the most widely revealing, authentic, first hand study of a scientific nature that has as yet been made. He gives descriptions of four typical cotton mill locations; viz., rural, town, suburban, and the unincorporated, subsidized village. He then gives statistical studies of wages, households, housing conditions, family mobility, education, community activities, and discusses the problems of crime, delinquency, and dependency in the mill village.

The average wage received for all workers in the families studied was found to

be \$13.40, with the range running from \$5.00 up to \$37.00. The net annual income per family of workers was found to be \$835.64, with the average number of workers per family coming just under two. To this there should be added, in the case of the more favored in the best type of villages something like \$200.00 for contributions by the employer in terms of cheap rental, free light and water, etc. Of course all villages are not of the type that contributes these advantages, so not all operatives share them. Two-thirds of the families number four or more per household and in one-half of this two-thirds there are from two to seven dependents. The young couples, both of whom work, fare very well, but the larger household of five or more with the father and one or two children working must live on a very low standard.

The income of the greater number may be higher than on the tenant farm, but the author finds that, while nearly two-thirds of the families came from the farm, less than one-third were ever tenants. Sixty per cent of all the operatives have been in the mills more than ten years and one-fourth of them more than twenty years. Thus it is shown that while the sad plight of the southern tenant farmer makes him a source of perennial supply for the cotton mill, yet the mill folk themselves are coming to be an occupational group. The farmer who comes into the mill finds more money income than he ever enjoyed on the farm and in the modern mill village gets a better house to live in, but he also gets a more monotonous grind of toil, less individual freedom in his work, and a more wearying task. If farming paid better the wages in cotton mills in the South would no doubt be raised. Compared with the small farmer and the wage earner in other major industries the cotton mill worker shares about as well as any, but



he still belongs to the lesser income group, and booster organizations still advertise to the world that labor is cheap.

Professor Rhyne finds that his statistics run close to the averages of those made in wider areas on those points where wider surveys have been made. His very thorough-going piece of work will no doubt be a source of authority for all students in this field for some time to come.

ALVA W. TAYLOR.

*Vanderbilt University.*

THIS UGLY CIVILIZATION. By Ralph Borsodi. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1929. 468 pp. \$3.00.

The protest of this book against the modern industrial order is in the spirit of Ruskin, Morris, and Ghandi. Borsodi does not condemn the machine. His polemic is against the factory system with its noise, soot, smells and crowds. He sees the factory system destroying beauty and skill, curbing initiative, self-reliance, self-expression and self-sufficiency, producing inferior goods, squandering natural resources, breeding slums, wasting human lives with enforced unemployment and fomenting aggressive imperialism with attendant wars. Believing that if inventions and scientific discoveries had been devoted toward perfecting home machinery instead of improving factory technique, domestic producers would not have been forced to yield in competition with the factory, he advocates an industrial counter-revolution involving the domestication of the machine. He contends that while steam necessitated concentration of production in factories electricity permits decentralization and the time is therefore ripe when "mankind might with profit abandon much of the present factory production, precisely as mankind thought it profitable to abandon domestic, craft, and guild production in the course of the industrial revolution." He would dis-

place factory-dominated civilization by a rejuvenated, self-sufficient homestead economy in which improved domestic machinery would eliminate forty per cent of the factories now operating and the function of the remaining factories would be to produce the requisite machinery and objects "requiring a degree of skill beyond the powers of the average homemaker."

The author refutes the charge that he is utopian and impractical by referring to the success he and his wife have had in experimenting with the proposed plan, but his discussion of how such a venture can be financed by a family "without any real income," is far from being conclusive.

Borsodi's proposals have plausibility as a means of personal escape from the humdrum of urban life of people in comfortable circumstances who wish "to make home-making a creative art" and who can sincerely believe that "personality is inextricably entangled in every dish and meal prepared at home." But it is difficult to see how their realization of his program of social change would benefit the millions of factory workers who are the real victims of the system which the author indicts.

BERNHARD J. STERN.

*Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences.*

NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY PLANNING. Volume VII of the Regional Survey of New York and Its Environs, comprising three monographs: "The Neighborhood Unit" by Clarence Arthur Perry; "Sunlight and Daylight for Urban Areas" by Wayne D. Heydecker in collaboration with Ernest P. Goodrich; and "Problems of Planning Unbuilt Areas" by Thomas Adams, Edward M. Bassett, and Robert Whitten. New York: Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs, 1929. 363 pp.

This well illustrated volume of the New York regional plan, one of the last few volumes to appear, concerns itself with the general problem of planning the land for residential development. Heretofore city

plans have too often consisted of groupings of earlier plannings by piecemeal, the earlier pieces having been laid out by persons whose chief interest has been the sale of lots, whereas the unwise early planning or lack of it hands on to those who use the properties immense costs in rebuilding or in inconveniences due to disutility and lack of adaptability to social needs.

Mr. Perry very ably presents the principles of urban neighborhood association as they relate to the development of neighborhoods. He points out that the city is becoming cellular as a result of the growth of highways as motor speedways and between these traffic arteries neighborhood units are forming. The principal neighborhood institutions such as school, playground, community hall he fits into a practicable plan and the other features of residence that are necessary to satisfy normal desires such as local stores and garages he relates conveniently and artistically. The scheme brings into focus for the first time the aspirations of the community organizers with the growing trends in urban life and the experiences of neighborhood planning and neighborhood organization as it has been studied by Mr. Perry in the American developments that are analogous to the garden cities of other countries. The automobile has defined the community; the demand for quality in housing has filled every planned community; now through a study of purchases and of social practices evolves a set of plans to fit the most probable requirements for housing, open spaces, street system, shopping districts, school, community center. This neighborhood unit is worked out for: a low cost suburban development, an industrial section, an apartment house, a central deteriorated area.

The second monograph gives a summary of the experience and researches of medical investigators, sanitarians, and other scien-

tists, regarding the relation between sunlight and health. It is concluded that the location and planning of dwellings should allow for at least as much sunlight in every living or sleeping room as would be supplied by one half hour of sunshine through windows of the prevailing dwelling house size on December 21st (the winter solstice). Plans are suggested for building which provide such a minimum without greatly increasing the lot area now allowed in typical residential sections.

Monograph three approaches the question of planning of communities from the point of view of what is most practicable and needed under the existing law. It not only shows that municipalities, not the owners, are responsible for defects in planning land, but also indicates feasible provisions that might secure greater economy and stability in development. The result of premature subdivision is shown, and the need of fitting the street plan to topography. The laws prepared by the Regional Plan staff and adopted by New York state in 1927 and 1928 indicate how cities, villages, or towns may establish an official map of streets and parks, and preserve its integrity against the efforts to construct private streets and to build within the lines of future streets.

Much of the present financial burden imposed on the owners of a single family home, it is said, is due to unwise methods of land subdivision and to the inflexible character of the street improvements. There should be predetermination of housing density, and (radically enough) "a company organized to build a neighborhood community—should have the right of condemnation just as that right is granted to the railroad or other public utility company." It is entirely feasible economically in utilizing land for medium cost housing to create self-contained neighborhoods with provision for small parks,

playgrounds, schools, community centers, and "with careful attention to the amenities."

The volume is a mixture of different kinds of material all however pointing to the one general problem. It is authoritatively written and of the first importance in its field.

LEROY E. BOWMAN.

*National Community Center Associations.*

THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION. By Lewis Meriam and Associates. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928. xiv + 872 pp. \$5.00.

In June, 1926, Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, requested the Institute for Government Research to undertake a comprehensive survey which should embrace educational, industrial, social, and medical activities, property rights, and general economic conditions among the Indians. A carefully selected staff of ten specialists was headed by Lewis Meriam and financed by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. By June, 1927, ninety-five different jurisdictions as well as many communities to which Indians had gone, had been visited.

The first fifty-five pages contain the summary of findings and recommendations, with the next thirty pages presenting a convincing foreword as to methods and qualifications of the staff. A modest footnote on page 61 refers to the *The Office of Indian Affairs*, a descriptive monograph of 591 pp. by L. F. Schmeckebier, as providing with the present survey "a fairly complete study of the Indian Service." The completeness of the Meriam survey justifies the more unrestrained approval which has been generally given it. For example, the 46th annual report of the Indian Rights Association proclaims it as "one of the most thorough surveys that has ever been made of the Indian situation at Washington and in the field . . . a comprehensive picture, . . . a scientific plan

to remedy existing defects." Inadequacy of funds and personnel are the chief points of stress. Among the most pressing needs are a million dollar immediate appropriation for better food for Indian children in boarding schools; about \$300,000 for planning and development; a \$5,000,000 emergency lump sum appropriation for general improvement of the Service; and the fullest cooperation of the Civil Service in connection with providing properly qualified employees for positions under the new classifications proposed. The position taken by the survey staff as to fundamentals in the Indian situation is revealed in pages 86 to 186. The remainder of the volume goes into detail with regard to conditions of health, education, economic factors, family and community life, migration, legal aspects, and missionary activities. The index covers twenty-three pages.

It is easy to understand the unanimous approval which this report evoked from the five sessions given to it in December, 1928, by the Indian Rights Association. The one adverse criticism which may be lodged against it is that it is somewhat repetitious, but this is more or less unavoidable where so many careful observers have a hand in the arrangement of such impressive material, and where the urgency of the situation demands quick work. From the standpoint of race problems, the tacit acceptance of ultimate red-white assimilation may give ardent Nordics the blues, (see pp. 20-22, and footnote p. 110).

If one browses amid the vast material about the Indian on the shelves of the Congressional Library, he wonders where else can be found so much evidence of effort and so little of accomplishment with a centuries old national problem. Crumbling, yellowed pamphlets more than a hundred years old reveal varied and sundry objectives such as experimental farms and



"all other things to accomplish (the) grand object, the civilization of the Indian." Sword-rattling can be heard in this battle of the books, with Captain Edmond Butler saying in 1882 that the civilization of the Indian is a hopeless matter, and that the best Indian policy is that which spills the least blood. Another voice, that of Brigadier General Pratt, has a different tone when he quotes at Lake Mohonk in 1914 the statement of General Sherman: "The government has made hundreds of treaties with the Indian and never kept one." Will this survey of 1928, along with the barrage which the periodicals have been laying down in this our century of social science, convince the government that Indian affairs no longer can constitute the greatest trading post in politics? The efforts already made by President Hoover, Commissioner Rhoads, and Assistant Commissioner Scattergood are promising.

LEE M. BROOKS.

*University of North Carolina.*

THE SOCIAL SOURCES OF DENOMINATIONALISM. By H. Richard Niebuhr. New York: Holt, 1929. 304 pp. \$2.50.

Really a great volume, this book by Dr. Richard Niebuhr of Eden Theological Seminary. To those interested in church history and sociology here is a clear statement of why and how the various branches of Christianity began to be. Little is said concerning the creedal and doctrinal divisions of the many sects, but the emphasis by Niebuhr is upon the economic, social, racial, and political reasons why the churches are so divided. The usual church historian stresses his denomination's adherence to its way because of its being correct as to rite, ritual, and dogma. Seldom have we found a single church historian going farther than that. Dr. Niebuhr says little of any special doctrinal influ-

ence in the formation of the churches. He reveals a scene back of the Westminster Confession and the Thirty Nine Articles, a scene that includes social upheavals and national boundary lines. Thus those who are strict in their support of a particular ISM will find little source of comfort for their own brand of denomination.

The writer shows the portraits of several churches which arose because of certain social needs, for instance, the Quakers, Methodists, Baptists, and others. These are the denominations of the 'disinherited,' to use the author's figure. The poor and neglected people of various periods of history were brought together and given hope by magnanimous leaders such as Fox and Wesley, and thus new denominations were born. These outcasts were thrilled by an expectation of better things both here and hereafter. Neglected by the established forms of religion, these churches drew multitudes of the lowly together and gave them relief and hope. Methodism, for instance, began when John Wesley put himself down beside the man in the gutter, and without the pretense of giving a new creed, lifted him to his feet and restored his self-respect. So with various other branches of Christianity.

Then Dr. Niebuhr gives the picture of the denominations that made a specialty of ministering to the middle classes, such as the Presbyterians, Lutherans, and others. These sects gave their attention to those people who were economically independent and intellectually capable. They ministered to those with bank accounts and college education. They had small interest in the man who worked with his hands in shop and mill and mine, the man who could barely read. So we find this group of churches looking with disdain upon the lay preaching of the Wesleyan movement, the system whereby common laborers were allowed to proclaim

the message of salvation. The church of England was scandalized by such ministrations, and consequently refused to ordain Methodist preachers, although their doctrines were practically identical. Thus, for reasons both social and economic, a number of churches came into being and held strictly to their own classes in spite of Him who ate with publicans and sinners.

Many modern-minded thinkers will be interested in reading the chapters regarding the work of sectionalism and nationalism in the creating of denominations. We who have been slow in being stampeded by spread eagle oratory, flying flags, and parading soldiers will find that even Christian denominations followed national boundary lines. For instance, Lutheranism for Germany and the Scandinavian countries, Presbyterianism for Scotland and Protestant France, Episcopalianism for England and the colonies, Southern Methodism for the territory south of the Mason and Dixon line, along with the Baptists, Presbyterians, and others holding to the lines laid out by sectional differences. Even today, generations after the political causes have been forgotten, many of the denominations hold tightly to their old sectional and national prejudices. All this of course in the face of Him who disregarded racial barriers, sectional feelings, and national boundaries. In war the various denominations have always taken up arms for their own particular governments, declaring the national causes just, regardless of Him who preached 'blessed are the peacemakers' and 'they that use the sword must perish by the sword.' Such political alliances have never helped spread the gospel of love and international goodwill. Thus our weakness as a divided Christian Church.

Dr. Niebuhr finally gives discussion to racial and color lines, how the denominations have adhered to racial groupings, the

immigrant who comes to America and the Negro who lives in the South. How many white churches open their doors to the reception of the foreigner and the black man? Such peoples are driven to their own races for religious organization.

They are not welcomed to churches claiming Nordic superiority, and a minister who dared preach a Christ universal and all inclusive would immediately lose his job and almost his head. Thus after nineteen hundred years of professing the religion of unity, Christian people are separated into more than two hundred different churches, each of which usually caters to some social, racial, or national group. May we ask ourselves, Is this Christian?

The closing chapter of the Niebuhr volume is entitled "The Ways to Unity," and gives us the method of escape from our denominational difficulties, a method by which all of us are enabled to find our way back to one fold and one shepherd. Since the writer sees no hope for a divided world in a denominational Christianity, the necessity is upon us for a church freed of sectionalism, nationalism, and racialism. It will be a way of surrender, the surrender of partisan and sectarian differences, a way of broad fellowship among all classes and races. It will be a way of repentance, patience, and sacrifice. It will demand an attitude of contrition towards denominationalism instead of one of pride. It will call for our best in love and generosity. Such is the only way to the kingdom of God.

*The Social Sources of Denominationalism* deserves a large sale and a wide reading. But possibly our churches are yet too narrow to receive this volume with open minds and penitent hearts. So the causes of Christ continue to suffer and the progress of his Church is retarded.

C. E. ROZZELLE.

Chapel Hill, N. C.

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